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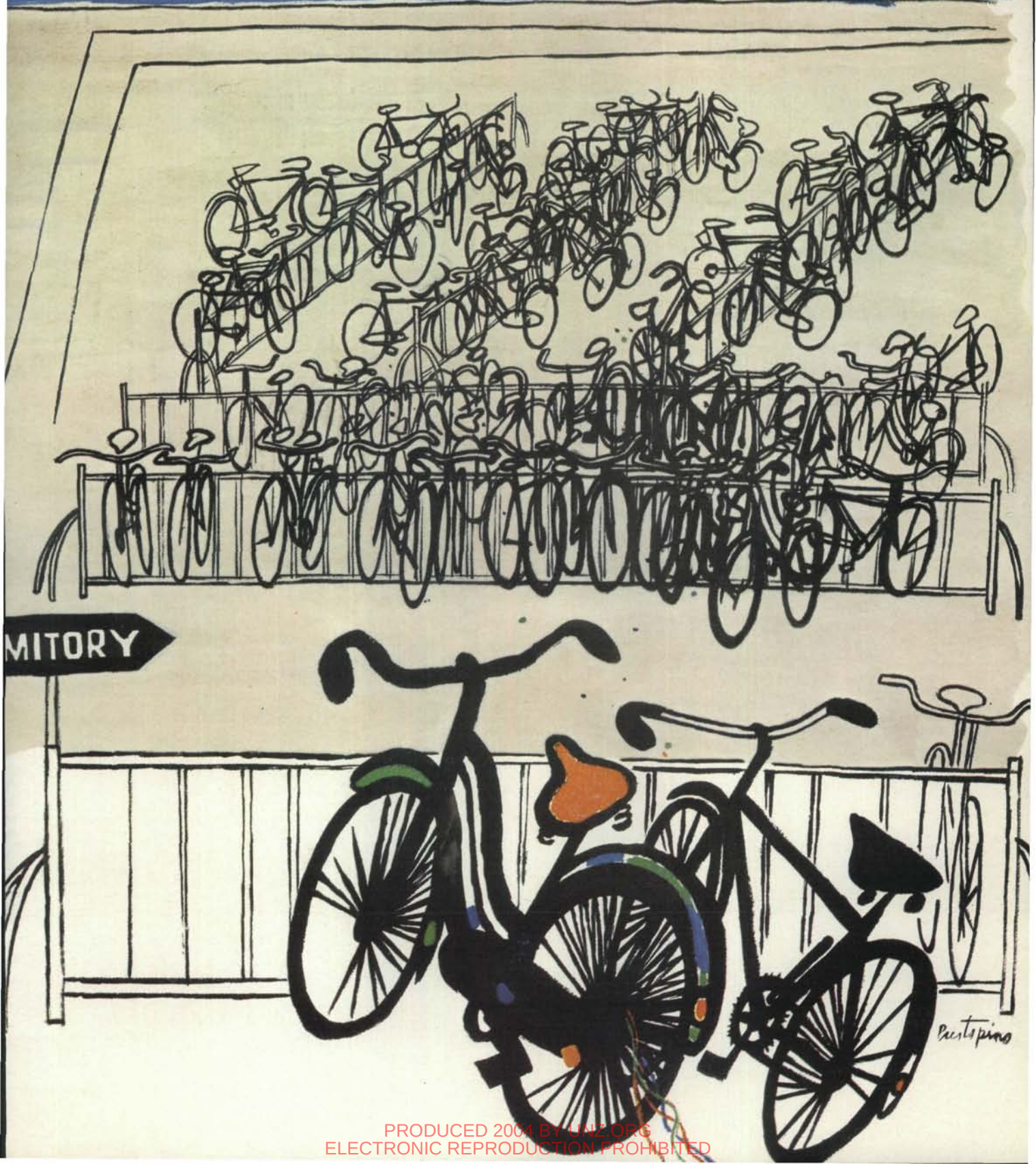

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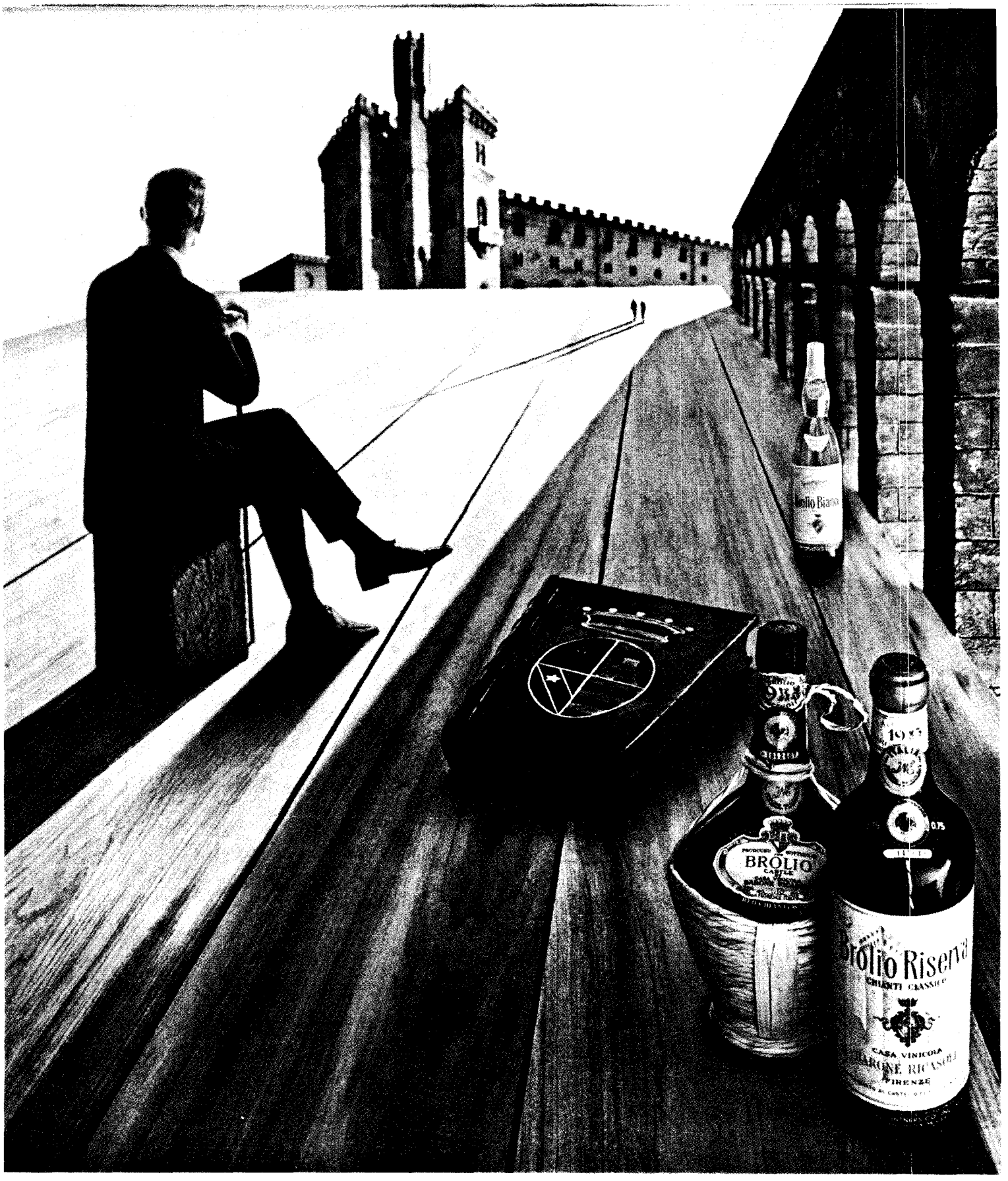

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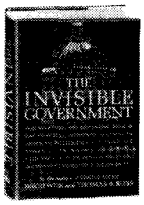

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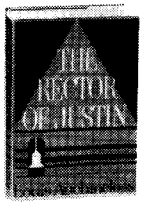

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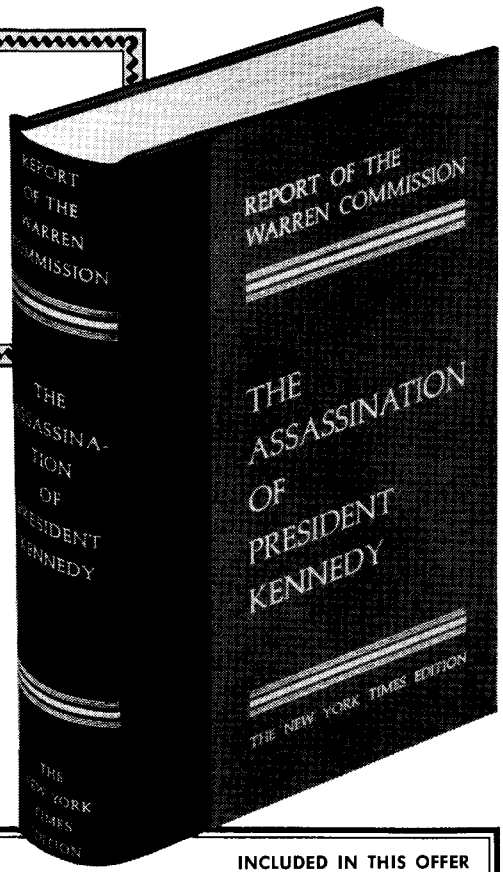

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"It was," according to James Russell Lowell, "in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled." The importance of free public schools in making one nation out of many peoples settled on a vast continent cannot be exaggerated. And now, in ways that neither Lowell nor Mark Hopkins nor even John Dewey could fully imagine, we are asking more of our schools than ever. In recent years no one has contributed more to our understanding of what our schools are and what they ought to be than **James Bryant Conant,** who retired as president of Harvard to become U.S. high commissioner for Germany and then ambassador to the Federal Republic. Since 1957, he has devoted himself to the frank, spirited criticism of the institutions of American education. His five previous reports—including *The American High School Today, Slums and Suburbs,* and *The Education of American Teachers*—have all had mighty impact. In his latest book, *Shaping Educational Policy* (just published by McGraw-Hill), he addresses himself to what is perhaps the most fundamental concern of all. We are proud to present Dr. Conant's own summation of the arguments and the important proposal he has offered at greater length in his book.

As Dr. Conant says, the education of the American Negro is among the most pressing problems to be dealt with by the makers of educational policy in this country. Some sort of special consideration obviously has to be given to help those who have been held back by prejudice, but what forms should this preferential treatment take and how much of it should there be? Some of the alternatives are analyzed for us in this issue by **Fred M. Hechinger,** education editor of the New York *Times.* Mr. Hechinger is the author of *The Big Red Schoolhouse* (Peter Smith) and, with Grace Hechinger, of *Teen-Age Tyranny* (William Morrow).

The deepening crisis in the western alliance has many ramifications. As the Kennedy round of trade-liberalization talks opened in Geneva, many European economists, businessmen, and government officials were expressing concern over American economic penetration of Europe. U.S. firms have direct investments of $4.5 billion in the six Common Market countries, and some of the largest U.S. corporations have acquired substantial interests in their European counterparts. From Paris, where alarm over the "dollar invasion" is most acute, **Edmond Taylor** warns against misuse of American economic power. . . . Reporting on Buddhist riots in Vietnam in our September 12, 1963, issue, **Denis Warner** wrote: "It is clear that Tri Quang and his followers very much wanted trouble, preferably with the maximum amount of bloodshed." At that time, most U.S. correspondents and officials failed to foresee just how much trouble Tri Quang's militant Buddhism would bring to the country. Today the Buddhist political organization, employing many of the techniques of Vietnam's traditional secret societies, seems destined ultimately to benefit the Vietcong. . . . The Goldwater phenomenon will continue to have repercussions. In Congress, an effort to purge Democrats who supported the Republican candidate is described by **Daniel Rapoport,** a Washington correspondent of United Press International. In Alabama, reports **Reese Cleghorn,** an associate editor of the Atlanta *Journal,* Governor George C. Wallace appears to have outsmarted himself and sown the seeds for the decline of the state's Democratic Party. In Seattle, however, moderate Republicans are about to regain control of their party machinery from the Goldwaterites. **Rillmond Schear** is a reporter for *Seattle Magazine.*

The two faces of Dimeh, one modern and one tribal, offer a moving insight on some of the human problems involved in bringing Liberia into the twentieth century. **Anthony Astrachan,** a free-lance writer, first gazed on the sacred "black stone" during a four-and-a-half-year stint in Africa as a foreign-aid technician. . . . The only thing insular about Chilean artist **Fernando Krahn** is the subject matter of his latest contribution. . . . **Robley Wilson, Jr.,** is an instructor of English at the State College of Iowa in Cedar Falls. . . . **Nat Hentoff** is an expert both on jazz and the Harlem scene. . . . **Gerald Weales,** whose most recent book is *A Play and Its Parts* (Basic Books), teaches drama at the University of Pennsylvania. . . . **John William Ward,** a member of the faculty at Amherst College, is now working on a book about individualism in America. . . . **Jay Jacobs** is an artist as well as a writer on the arts. . . . **Sarel Eimerl** is one of our regular contributors.

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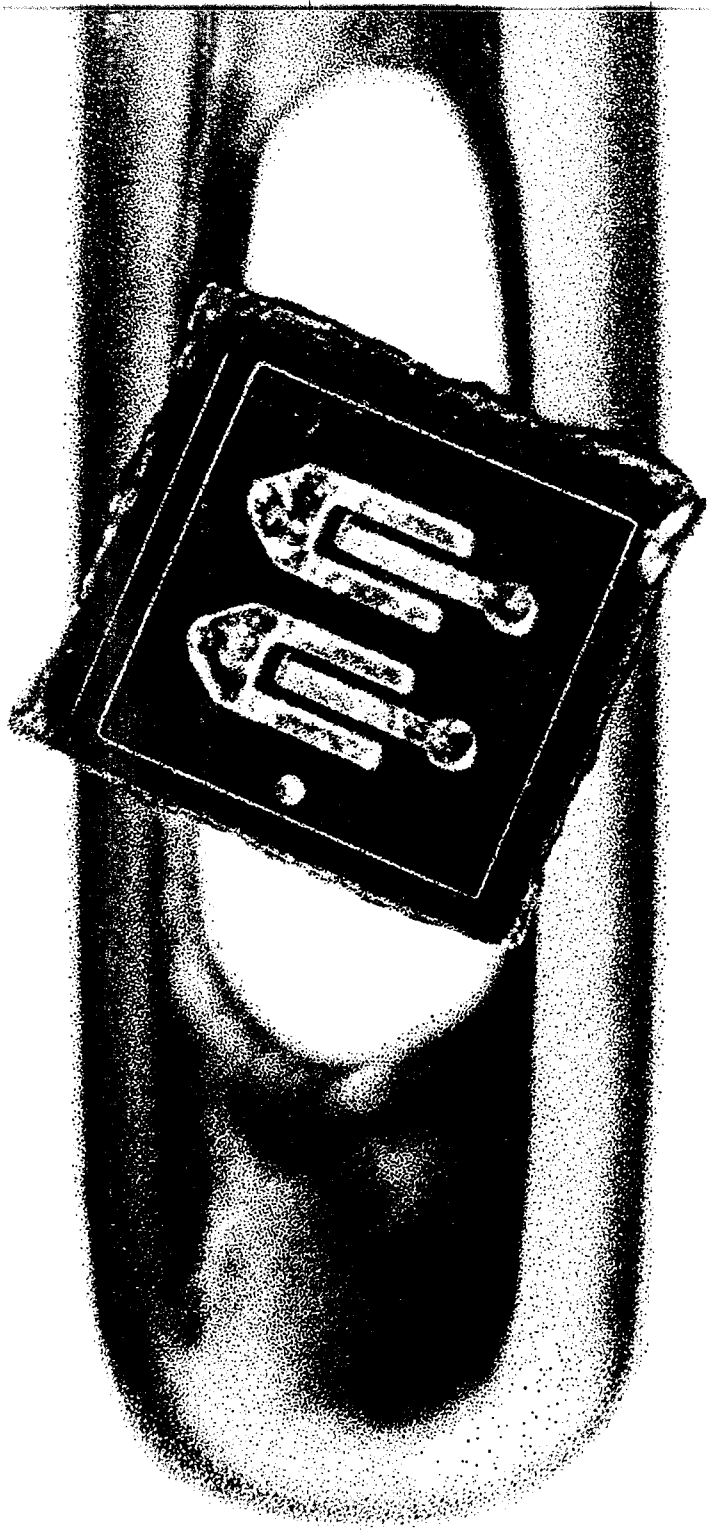

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CORRESPONDENCE

CLOSING A DEBATE

To the Editor: I would like to correct the misinformation contained in "The Reporter's Notes" of your November 5 issue, which charges me with "myth-making" about Senator Kenneth B. Keating's record.

The first of my criticisms of Senator Keating's votes about which you complain is his vote in 1963 to substitute the House version of the Aid to Higher Education bill for the Senate version of that bill. The Senate bill would have authorized about $1.8 billion over a period of five years; the House version $1.2 billion over a period of three years. With Senator Keating, you claim that the House bill would have authorized a higher annual expenditure for each of the three years than the Senate bill would have for each of the five years; and you claim that the votes of Senators Clark, Douglas, Hart, and [Edward M.] Kennedy bear you out.

You do not contest that the House bill would have provided a total authorization smaller by $600 million than the Senate bill. The argument that after three years Congress might have seen fit to authorize more money had the House version been passed is, of course, equally applicable to the Senate version. And your citation of the four Democratic liberals who joined with Senator Keating is, it seems to me, more than outweighed by the votes of Senators Humphrey, Mansfield, Metcalf, McNamara, Morse, and thirty-seven other Democrats—as well as such Republican liberals as Senators Case, Smith, and Javits, all of whom voted for the Senate bill. Indeed, Senator Javits claimed authorship of the Senate bill and called unequivocally for the rejection of the amendment to substitute the House bill. (109 *Congressional Record* 19489-90, October 15, 1963.)

Second, you deny that Senator Keating has voted "against every major proposal for aid for construction of primary and secondary schools and for teachers' salaries." There have been two such major proposals during Senator Keating's term in the Senate—the Federal Aid to Education bills of 1960 and 1961. He voted against both—again in opposition to all liberal Democrats and in opposition to Senator Javits, among other liberal Republicans.

You state that I charged that the senator derided the nuclear test ban, and only spoke for it when passage was assured. What I said in fact was:

(1) That he opposed the treaty during the years when Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey were working for an agreement.

(2) That his final 1963 response was only "adequate"—not the response of a leader.

You then state that you can count fourteen separate speeches in its behalf prior to passage.

What you do not state is that from the day Adlai Stevenson first proposed a test ban in 1956, through all the Geneva test-ban negotiations, and until 1963, Senator Keating never once spoke on the floor of the Senate in favor of a treaty. In 1959, he said that Senator Humphrey's proposal to break the deadlock that had arisen on the inspection issue would lead to the recognition of Communist China. In 1961, less than six weeks after President Kennedy had tried to resume the test-ban negotiations, he stated that "the sooner we get out of them [the nuclear test-ban talks] the better." Several times in 1961 and 1962 he proposed that the negotiations be broken off and testing be resumed forthwith.

In 1963, Senator Keating joined thirty-three other senators in supporting the Humphrey-Dodd resolution. Leaving aside the question of whether joining thirty-three others is "leadership," you must be aware that support of Humphrey-Dodd did not necessarily indicate eventual support for the Test-Ban Treaty actually arrived at. Three supporters of this resolution later proposed crippling amendments, and one (Senator Lausche) voted against ratification.

As to Senator Keating's role in the debate, your editorial writer asserts that Keating made "14 speeches" on behalf of the treaty. But many of these were not on the floor; and many more consist of two or three sentences saying nothing for the treaty itself but only commending various senators for their work—a form of Senatorial courtesy which says nothing of the speaker's feelings as to the merit of what others have said. The fact is that the senator did not make his major speech for the treaty until September 20, the last full day of debate. And not once did he rise to dispute the opponents of the treaty, such as Russell, Stennis, or Goldwater.

You state that I have charged Senator Keating with voting against the Kefauver drug bill, and that he voted to release the bill from the Judiciary Committee and for its final passage on the Senate floor. In fact, I charged Senator Keating only with voting against the compulsory patent-licensing provisions to bring down the high cost of drugs. And your writer might be interested to know that the senator abstained from the crucial committee vote on whether the bill should be gutted of its vital protective provisions.

You say that eighty-seven other senators joined Senator Keating in the minimum-wage vote on which I criticized him. You are apparently unaware that there were two votes on the minimum-wage bill on August 18, 1960. On one of them, a vote to exclude 913,000 workers from coverage, Sen-

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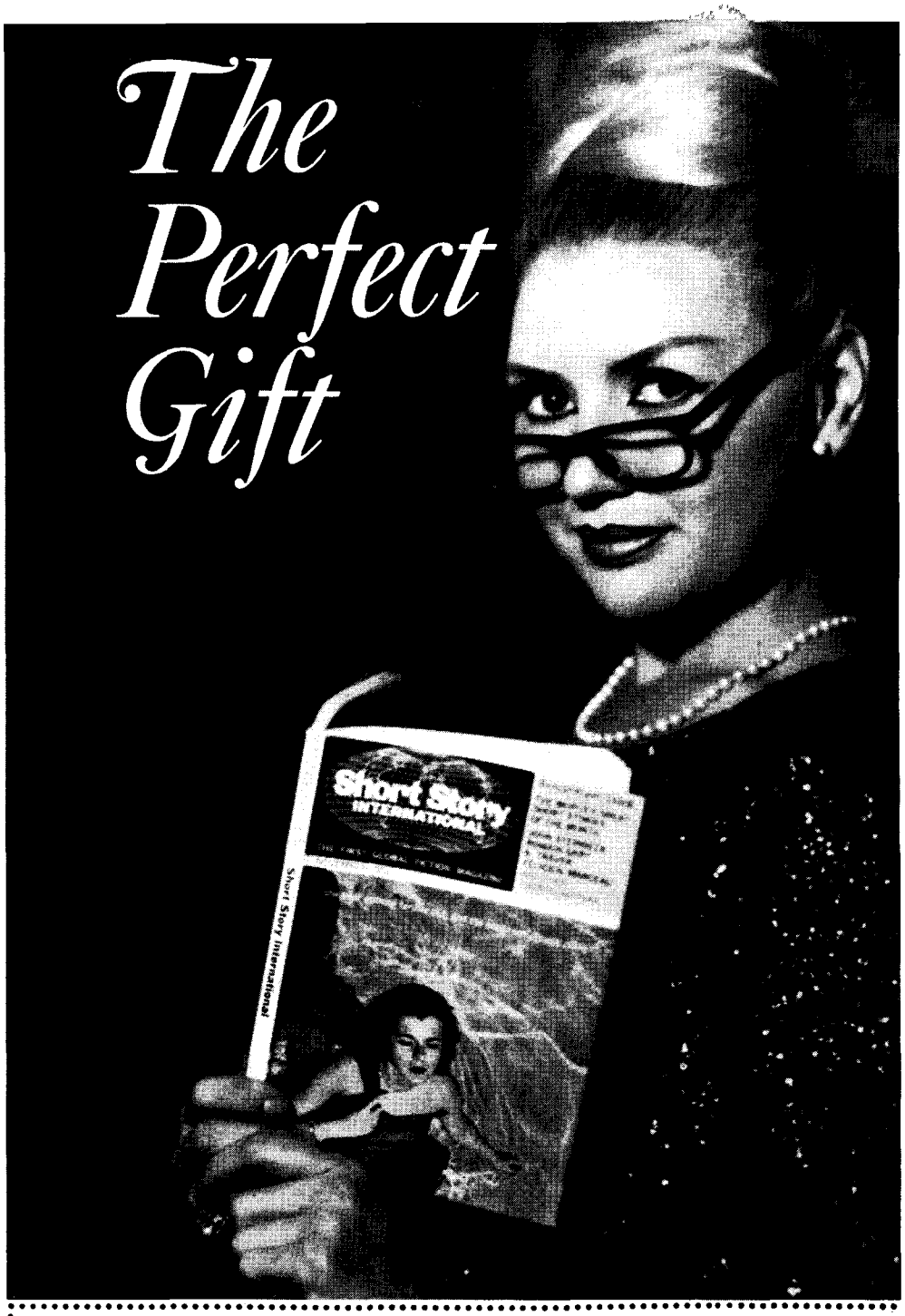

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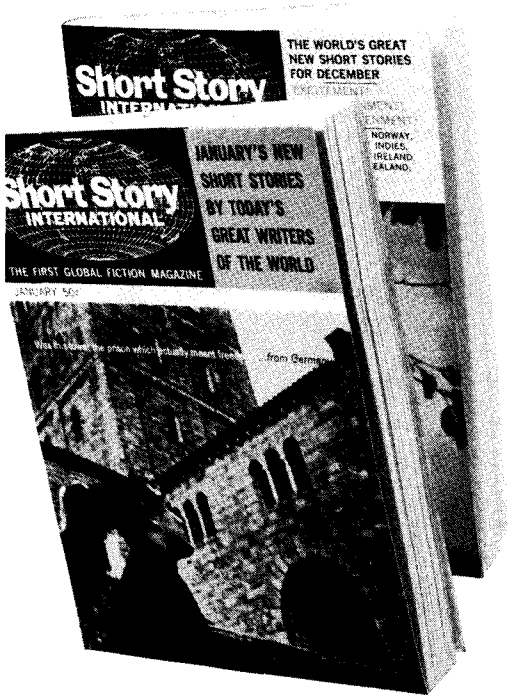
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ator Keating indeed voted with eighty-seven other senators. But on an earlier vote, which involved coverage of two million retail and service workers in businesses which do not operate in more than two states, Senator Keating opposed the overwhelming majority of the Democratic Party as well as Senator Javits and seven other Republicans. The limitation for which Senator Keating voted was beaten by one vote. (106 *Congressional Record* 16691.)

The election will be over by the time this letter is printed, but the misinformation in your article will remain. For this reason, I am writing to correct the permanent record.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY
New York

THE EDITOR'S REPLY—

We congratulate Mr. Kennedy on his election to the Senate, but glad as we are to publish his letter, we cannot leave it unanswered. To take up the points he raises one by one:

(1) *Aid to Higher Education.* Both the programs provided in the limited Senate bill and in the broader and more generous House bill were officially characterized in Congress as being of a "five-year" duration. Following an ordinary Congressional procedure, the House authorized its higher annual expenditures for only the first three years of the new program, while the Senate spelled out all five years in advance. Therefore, the argument that the Senate bill might also have been extended is *not* "equally applicable." Indeed, New York's new senator may not be convinced that the House version (which Keating backed) actually provided more money, but his doubts were not shared by the senators who created the legislation. "It calls for $2,015 million for the next five years," said Oregon's Wayne Morse, who was floor manager for the Senate's more limited version. "The Senate bill," he added, "carries only $1,750 million."

(2) *General Aid to Education.* "Every" major proposal for aid to education now turns out to have meant "two." Here is a third: On May 19, 1961, the Senate voted on a $2.2-billion program of Federal aid for school construction and for teachers' salaries. Senator Keating voted "Aye."

(3) *Test-Ban Treaty.* Kennedy certainly did charge Senator Keating with ridiculing the test-ban treaty and with only having spoken for it in the Senate when its passage was assured. Both these charges and those he makes in his letter involve taking certain of Keating's comments out of context while imposing strange new conditions on others. True, there was a time when Keating did not see much use in test-ban negotiations and a time when he favored them. But when and how? Keating recommended that the United States get out of the test-ban talks after the Soviets introduced the "troika" or veto concept of inspection, a move generally conceded at the time to have been evidence that the

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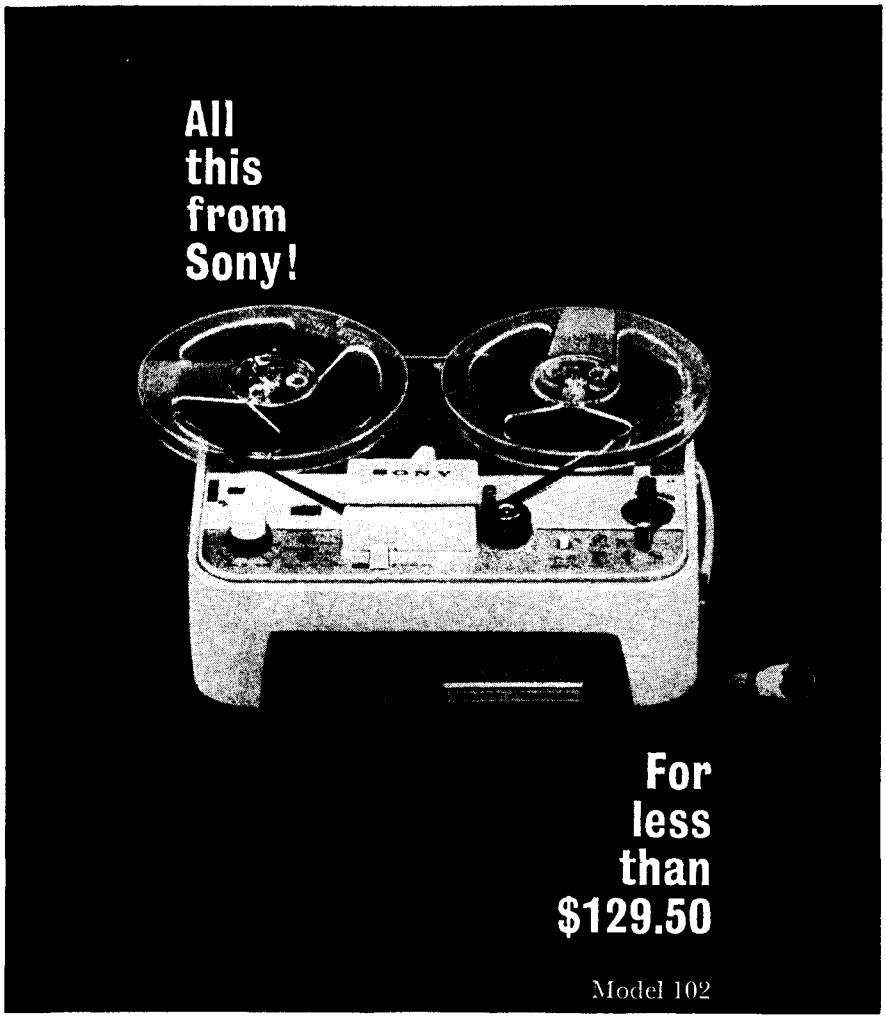
Russians had lost interest in a treaty and one that preceded their resumption of testing in 1961. In that period, Keating did indeed call for a resumption of U.S. tests. And it will be remembered that on September 5, 1961, President Kennedy did order the resumption of tests.

Keating's statements in behalf of a test-ban treaty from 1960 on presumably don't count because they were only made to the public and not on the Senate floor. Keating did rise to argue at length with Senator Goldwater in the Senate against a crippling reservation Goldwater wanted to impose on the treaty. But apparently this must be ruled out as evidence because it occurred on September 5, 1963, which was four days before the debate was authorized to begin. Then there was Keating's address when he co-sponsored the resolution calling for the treaty: "I rise in support of this resolution, which I am very glad to co-sponsor, to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere and underwater. There is no doubt that testing in the atmosphere offers the greatest dangers of nuclear contamination for our own generation and for generations still unborn." This doesn't count, presumably, because Senator Lausche of Ohio later voted against the treaty.

(4) ***Kefauver Drug Bill.*** "You state that I have charged Senator Keating with voting against the Kefauver drug bill." We stated that Mayor Wagner made the charge in Kennedy's behalf, and he did.

(5) ***Minimum Wage.*** We were aware that there were two votes on the minimum wage on August 18, 1960. After reporting the Kennedy charge that on that day Keating had voted "to deny the coverage of the minimum wage to three million workers in the retail and service industries," we remarked, "How this figure was arrived at is unclear." Frankly, it had crossed our mind that he might have added up the figures in the two pieces of legislation, but we were unprepared to believe it until we received confirmation in the letter printed above. One reason for our disbelief was that the two groups of workers don't add up to three million. The Monroney amendment, to which the letter refers, would not have removed "two million" workers from coverage but about 1,100,000. Nor were we troubled merely by the fact that 1,100,000 and 913,000 don't exactly equal 3,000,000. Since the second of these amendments included many of the workers listed in the first, some of the same people must have been counted twice.

We have gone to such length to reply to Robert Kennedy's letter because we share his concern for the "permanent record." We wish him well in the Senate, and we shall do our best to report on the record he makes there with the same concern for accuracy that has guided our comments on the New York Senatorial campaign.



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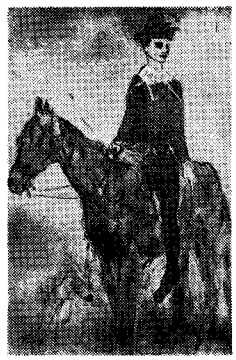

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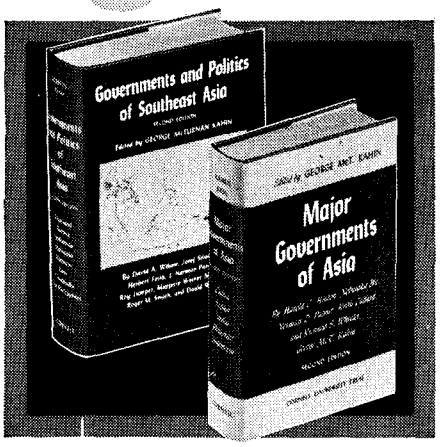

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

What Price MLF?

PARIS

To judge from the widening ripples of comment and reaction in Europe since Manlio Brosio, NATO's secretary-general, addressed the conference of NATO parliamentarians here on November 16, seldom has the personal initiative of a supranational official bureaucrat had such a decisive impact on history in the making. Brosio's speech—his first major statement since he succeeded Dirk U. Stikker on August 1—was couched in prudent diplomatic language and delivered in such unemotional tones that many of his listeners, apparently including the press, did not immediately grasp its significance, though it dealt with the controversial problem of the multilateral force. The North Atlantic Treaty, Brosio reminded the 150 parliamentarians, makes clear that no member of the alliance has the right "to develop the structure of the Atlantic organization, or to effect in it modification calculated to radically alter its character in the direction of either more or less integration without the full consent, unanimously proclaimed, of all its members."

Translated into plain English, this means that every member of the alliance has the power to veto any major change in NATO's present military and civilian organization. Brosio made plain that he regards MLF as a case in point by declaring that it is "manifestly a project with capital military and political implications." To some listeners Brosio even seemed to be suggesting that setting up MLF outside NATO against the wishes of any member was incompatible with the terms of the treaty. Since there was a deep cleavage of opinion within NATO on the merits of MLF, Brosio urged franker and fuller discussion by members of their disagreements in an effort to resolve them. Summoned to clarify his statement in a closed session two days later, the secretary-general corrected the impression that he had questioned the right of any group of member nations to set up a project like MLF outside NATO, but he indicated his preference for seeing the issue settled within the organization and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty, which he again affirmed meant unanimity.

The immediate effect of Brosio's bold move to save NATO from the disruptive effects of the MLF controversy was to crystallize the diffuse opposition to it already noticeable among the parliamentarians, as the Gaullist press gratefully pointed out. (*La Nation* was so pleased with the secretary-general that it even gave space to his criticisms of France's negative attitude toward many NATO problems.)

Observers here believe that the courageous position taken by the NATO secretary-general is certain to influence the attitude of several NATO governments that have never had much enthusiasm for MLF. Norway's Foreign Minister Halvard Lange stated in a press conference in London that his country would not participate in MLF under any conditions, and it is expected here that Denmark and Iceland will take the same stand. There is a strong likelihood that Belgium and Luxembourg will do the same. Portugal, Greece, and Italy are also considered possible defectors. Thus Washington's strategy of isolating France as the only holdout at next month's ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council seems foredoomed to failure.

But it is the more long-range implications of Brosio's intervention that are giving European diplomats and diplomatic commentators the most food for thought. Unless the NATO Council overrules Brosio's interpretation of the treaty—an unlikely development—President de

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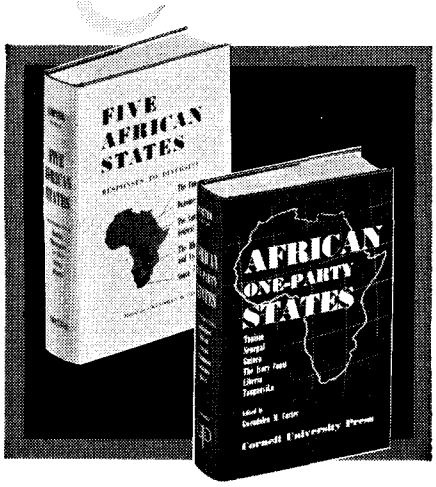

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Gaulle can block any incorporation of MLF into NATO. Instead of forcing him to swallow MLF or withdraw from NATO, the MLF fanatics in Washington and elsewhere will be faced with the choice of abandoning their project or setting it up outside NATO. This would mean in effect creating a rump NATO alongside the legal one. Besides raising a host of technical difficulties, it would probably lead to the gradual withering away of the original organization. From de Gaulle's viewpoint this would be perfect: NATO would be dead but he could not be saddled with the blame for its decease. And France, with its independent deterrent, would remain outside its successor, MLF, but its isolation would be shared by from four to seven of its Atlantic allies. Thus France has important psychological and political rewards to gain by avoiding any spectacular rupture with the alliance and playing the NATO game in strict accordance with the rules. Unless de Gaulle wantonly rejects the opportunity offered him for effective diplomatic maneuver, a final crisis of the alliance will at least be delayed for some months. For this result, if it is attained, Brosio will have almost sole responsibility. His audacious interpretation of the North Atlantic Treaty, quite different from the one adopted by his predecessor, will have made it possible.

FEW OBSERVERS here see much hope that MLF, despite all the weighty objections raised to it, will be given up by its American promoters, but there is now perhaps a chance that the original strategy of using it as a political weapon to isolate de Gaulle at home and abroad will be dropped and some kind of compromise reached that will allow the more or less peaceful coexistence of MLF and de Gaulle's national *force de frappe* within NATO. The prospects for eventual compromise do not yet seem very bright, however, and the consequences of a deepening rift in the alliance arising out of the MLF controversy look ugly.

La Nation has pointed out one possible consequence of MLF that does not seem to have been given much attention in Washington and Bonn—the danger that the Soviet Union will set up a kind of counter-MLF within the Warsaw Pact purely as a means of tightening its control over its European satellites.

Another still more ominous threat was underscored by the left-wing weekly *Nouvel Observateur* when its usually well-informed foreign editor, Hector de Galard, revealed that among the possible countermoves to MLF that de Gaulle has asked his experts to study for him are a diplomatic offensive to seat Communist China at the forthcoming meeting of the U.N. General Assembly and some gesture of support for the Rapacki Plan calling for the denuclearization of both East and West Germany. As Galard points out, such high-level leakages may be mere psychological warfare intended to frighten de Gaulle's allies, especially his West German ones, out of MLF. It was more than psychological warfare, however, when the Communist *l'Humanité* published an editorial above the signature of Etienne Fajon, a prominent member of the French party's Politburo, explaining that while de Gaulle's hostility to MLF did not have the same motivations as that of the Communists, it was nonetheless "positive" from the party's viewpoint and the Gaullists should therefore be considered tactical allies in the struggle to save the world from the consequences of MLF. Though there has been no Gaullist encouragement of such enticements for the Communists, the unnatural alliance between French nationalism and left-wing agitation that scuttled EDC a decade ago —and left enduring political scars in the process—is once again in force. "Definitely," says an editorial in *La Nation*, "no matter from what viewpoint one looks at it, MLF is bad business for everyone." Everyone except the Communists, that is.

—EDMOND TAYLOR

Unkingly

George Washington's first great mistake, it is easy enough to see in hindsight, was in fighting to free us from the rule of George III. And his second was not letting himself be crowned. People need mon-

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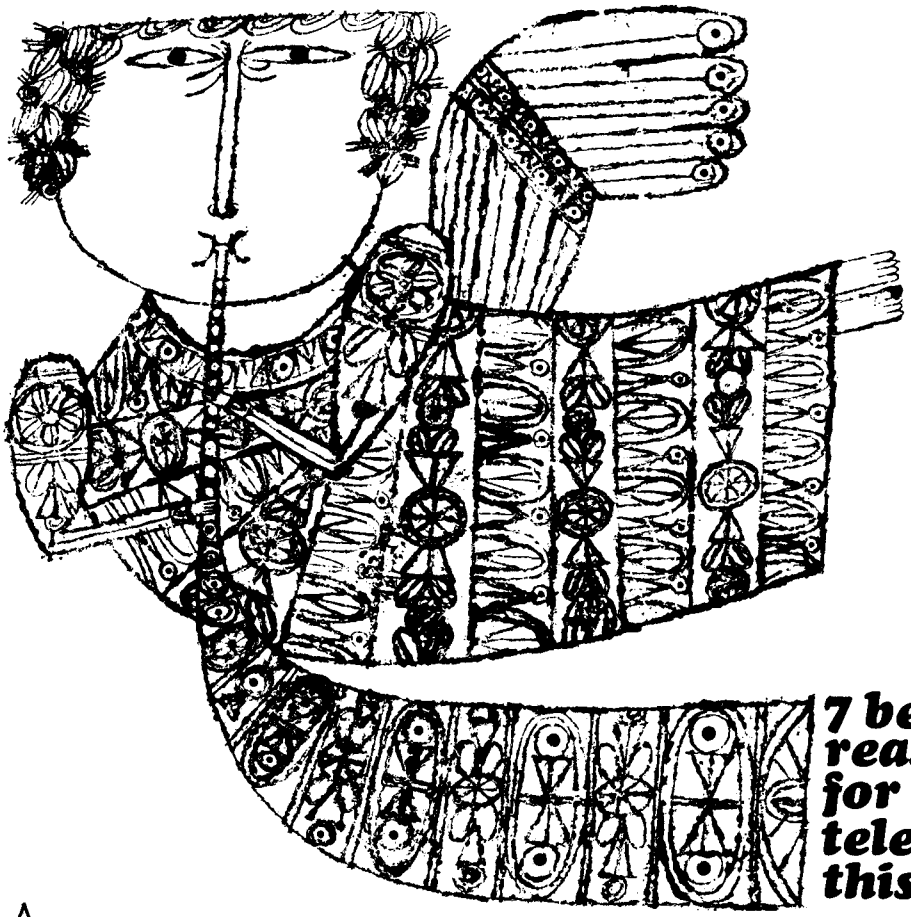

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Christmas Specials

Rudolph, The Red-Nosed Reindeer
Burl Ives narrates an animated musical fantasy about the Christmas reindeer performed by puppets.
Sunday, December 6 (5:30-6:30 PM)

L'Enfance du Christ
The Berlioz dramatic cantata in pageant form with Alfredo Antonini conducting.
Sunday, December 20 (10-11 AM)

Sing a Song for Christmas
Contemporary play with music.
Sunday, December 20 (1-2 PM)

The Coming of Christ
Story of Christ told through paintings. Alexander Scourby narrates.
Monday, December 21 (8:30-9 PM)

The Sound of Christmas
The Burke Family Singers visit Baroness Maria von Trapp in the Trapp family lodge in Stowe, Vt.
Thursday, December 24 (11:30-12 Midnight)

Christmas Eve Services, New York City
Cathedral of St. John the Divine (11:15-12 M)
St. Luke's Lutheran Church (12 M-1 AM)
St. Patrick's Cathedral (12 M-1:45 AM)

Carol for Another Christmas
An original fantasy based loosely on Dickens' Christmas Carol. Starring (alphabetically) Peter Fonda, Ben Gazzara, Sterling Hayden, Pat Hingle, Steve Lawrence, Percy Rodriguez, Eva Marie Saint, Peter Sellers, Robert Shaw.
Monday, December 28 (9:30-11 PM)

Other programs of special interest this December

Vietnam: It's a Mad War
In-depth probe of the conflict in S. Vietnam. Chet Huntley narrates.
Tuesday, December 1 (10-11 PM)

Menace of Age
Dinah Shore, hostess. Stars Arthur O'Connell, Jeanette Nolan and Marjorie Lord.
Thursday, December 10 (3-4 PM)

Junior Rose Bowl Game
From Pasadena, Calif. Leading junior college teams compete for the National Junior College Football Championship.
Saturday, December 12 (4-6:45 PM)

National Finals Rodeo
From Los Angeles, California
Saturday, December 12 (5-6:30 PM)

Nobel Prize Awards
Documents the history of the Awards, shows how the choices are made and includes the actual presentation of the 1964 Awards and interviews with recipients. With Alistair Cooke.
Saturday, December 12 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Battle of the Bulge
The 20th anniversary of the World War II battle is narrated by American soldiers who fought in this bloody combat.
Tuesday, December 15 (10-11 PM)

Duke Ellington Swings Through Japan
A musical portrait of the famous jazz musician.
Sunday, December 20 (6-6:30 PM)

Alice in Wonderland
Sunday, December 20 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Golf Classic
Professional golfers compete in second annual $166,000 team best-ball match-play elimination tournament.
Saturday, December 26 (4-5 PM)

Noye's Fludde
The Chester Miracle Play set to music by Benjamin Britten and performed by a company of 200 in St. George's Episcopal Church, NYC.
Sunday, December 27 (10-11 AM)

Art of Stained Glass
Origins, development and present uses of stained glass in church architecture.
Sunday, December 27 (1-1:30 PM)

Anthony Eden
England's former Prime Minister discusses world problems. Walter Cronkite narrates.
Sunday, December 27 (6-6:30 PM)

Year End News Special
Correspondents' review of the past year.
Sunday, December 27 (10:15-11 PM)

Projection '65
Correspondents' projections for coming year.
Tuesday, December 29 (10-11 PM)

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday to Friday: Today/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: World War I/That Was the Week That Was

Wednesdays: CBS Reports/ABC Scope

Fridays: International Showtime/ The Entertainers

Saturdays: Sunrise Semester/Mr. Mayor/ Exploring/Sports Special/Wide World of Sports/Mr. Magoo

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up and Live/ Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Discovery/Face the Nation/Watch Mr. Wizard/Directions/Issues and Answers/Sunday/Wild Kingdom/College Bowl/Twentieth Century/Profiles in Courage/ Walt Disney

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archs, and it is surely the convenient separation of ceremonial from political leadership that has allowed the British to make a reasonably good go of it for so long. Your sturdy British yeoman can snarl about the bloody P.M. and still take a patriotic pride in the sort of royal lineage that produces a prince canny enough to get thirty bob for his old term papers. But look at the spot we're in over here. If an American citizen concludes that his President is an ignorant, bifocaled Midwestern haberdasher or an addlepated golfer, he looks straight into the yawning pit of chaos. It's really too much to face. There's got to be *somebody* who's beyond criticism.

Fortunately for us and for our way of life, we've had J. Edgar Hoover. The Director, as he likes to be called, has for many years functioned as the honorary Grand Duke of a democratic aristocracy *sans peur et sans reproche*. Robert Moses used to rank with the marquesses and counts, but then he started sneering at mothers and bird watchers and even Mayor Wagner doesn't seem very scared of him any more. Anyway, it was wonderful to know that Mr. Hoover would always be around no matter who might get elected President. There was continuity and dignity and strength in our government that would have been lacking without him. He was, as a man in Mississippi named Aaron Henry has reminded us, "a sacred cow."

But there is one rule that must never be forgotten if a man is to maintain his reputation as being beyond criticism: he has to be beyond criticism. The Chief Justice of the United States has wrought many changes in our life in recent years, but we must wonder if he himself realized what would ensue when the Warren Commission had the temerity to criticize the FBI. No wonder the Director is behaving oddly these days. Only such provocation could have made Mr. Hoover use the words "notorious liar" in describing Dr. Martin Luther King, a great leader of his people who is fast achieving status as a "sacred cow" in his own right. *Noblesse* should certainly *oblige* a little better than that.

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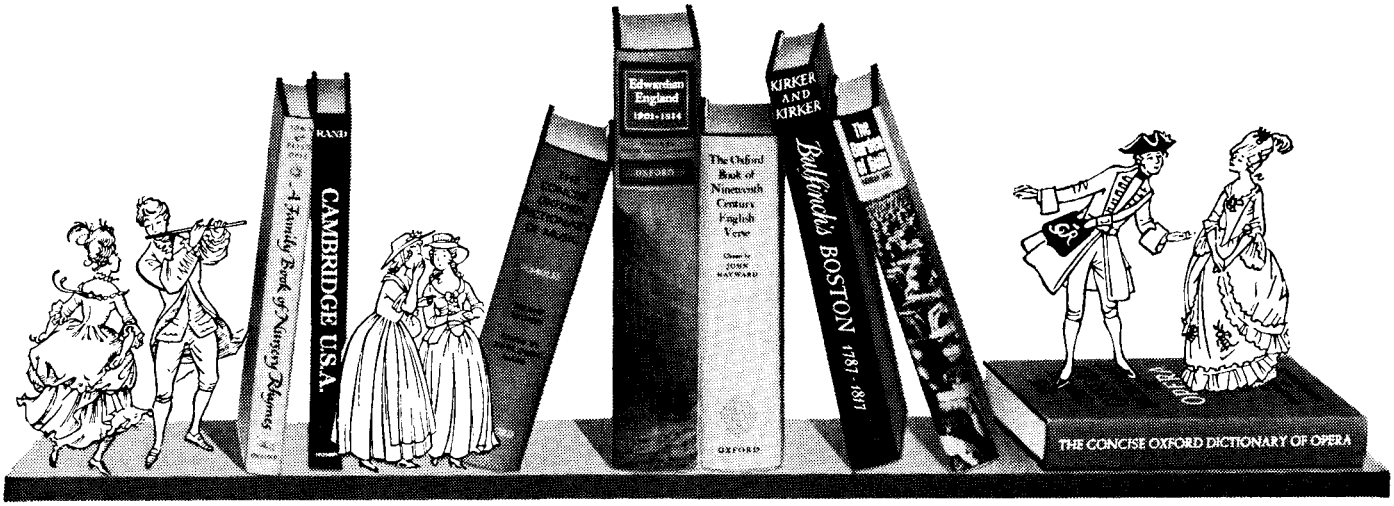
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On Taking Education Seriously

One of the foremost American educators—and critics of American education—offers a new plan for bringing order out of the chaos he has described in his latest book, 'Shaping Educational Policy'

JAMES BRYANT CONANT

We talk about our schools a great deal here in the United States, but do we in fact take education seriously? After spending six years looking closely at public schools and all manner of colleges and universities, I have to say that I think the answer is "No." To be sure, a great many of us take the education of our own children or grandchildren quite seriously. If we can afford it, we send our offspring to private schools or take up residence in a community with a public-school system of high repute, usually a well-to-do suburb with high per-pupil costs. Many of us worry a great deal about getting our sons and daughters into the "right" colleges. We may be loyal alumni and help raise money for our alma mater, and we certainly take pride in the victories of the football teams. Many serious citizens give a great deal of their time without pay serving on school boards, doing what they can as laymen to improve instruction in the local elementary grades or in the comprehensive high school. As compared with any other nation in the world, a high percentage of our young people attend school full time, and an amazingly large fraction of them go on to college. All this costs money, and by and large we pay it willingly, both in taxes and in tuition fees.

But none of these activities adds up to taking education seriously—at least not if we consider education a matter of national rather than personal importance. As I see it, taking education seriously would mean worrying about the education of other people's children, not just about that of our own. Except for some recent concern about slum schools, the average American gives little attention to what goes on in schools and colleges outside his immediate sphere of interest.

Let me cite some examples of important problems that are either being ignored or dealt with inadequately by existing institutions that are charged with making educational policy in this country. The National Science Foundation in 1961 published some findings which showed that in many high schools those who were assigned to teach mathematics and the sciences had hardly more than a bowing acquaintance with the subjects taught. There was no public outcry. The report was hardly noticed. From the same source came figures indicating that by no means all of even the most talented youth finished high school and entered college; of the top ten per cent in terms of ability to do university work, less than half were graduated from college. Again the revelation was received with apathy.

Anyone who takes the trouble to look around should become painfully aware that because of our inadequate schools, often staffed by incompetent teachers, many potential leaders of law, medicine, business, and other professions are being lost to the nation. We are told that our teachers are for the most part grossly underpaid and that we are not recruiting members of this profession from our more able young people. Yet how many have informed themselves about the situation in their own states?

We talk about the United States as a land of equal opportunity for all youth. Yet we tolerate methods of financing public education that can result in a threefold difference in the costs per pupil between one school district and another within the borders of a single state. We know, or ought to know, that we are in the middle of an educational revolution. There are extremely useful new methods of teaching foreign languages, mathematics, and the sciences, for example. But how many have any idea whether their own state has followed the example of New York in helping local boards to take advantage of what has been recently developed?

Our high schools have been expanded in recent years in order to handle the enrollment increases produced by the high birth rate of the 1940's. The flood now hits our colleges. Only a very few states have anything like a master plan for the expansion of public facilities for education beyond the high school. The growth is hit-or-miss. In a great many states the location of a new college or the change of a two-year

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to a four-year institution is determined by political horse-trading in the legislature.

Every degree-granting institution is chartered by one of the fifty states and in theory subject to some sort of reasonable control. Yet only a few states have attempted to protect the public against educational fraud. There are more than one hundred private colleges that sell degrees on essentially a mail-order basis. In one recent year these diploma mills enrolled some 750,000 students and did $75 million worth of business. The states have the power to stop this. A great many of them don't.

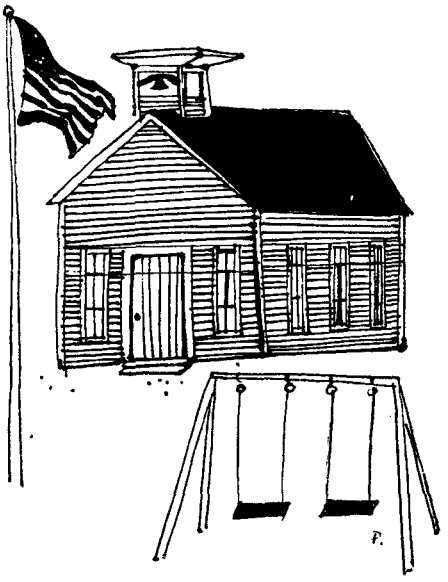
What Is Wanted of Our Schools?

Of course, it is all too easy to paint an unflattering picture of our public schools, colleges, and universities. And I must admit that at times I have been tempted to join those who characterize the educational scene in this country by the use of such terms as fraud, frivolity, and athletic fanaticism. But there is no use piling criticism on criticism unless we have a clear picture of what we want to accomplished. For much of our trouble is a direct consequence of the fact that educational practices and patterns developed piecemeal over the course of two centuries or more simply cannot serve our needs in the second half of the twentieth century.

What, then, do we want to accomplish through our schools? Between the two world wars we developed an ambition unlike that of any other nation. I refer to the goal of providing twelve or more years of full-time free education to all our youth. One has only to live in a foreign nation, as I have in Berlin for the last year, to realize the uniqueness of this American ambition. One has only to examine the educational systems in European countries and Japan to realize how much we are demanding of the three instruments we use to realize this ambition. I refer to the four-year state-supported college, the local two-year college, and above all the comprehensive high school. It is not too much to say that in large measure these institutions are American inventions. We must keep this in mind in any discussion of the faults of our public schools. We must also face the fact that, for better or worse, we have developed in each state a pattern of highly decentralized public-school systems.

To my mind, it is hardly worth discussing whether we have been right or wrong in setting as our goal universal full-time education through twelve grades for all students and through junior college, or on to the graduate level for those who are qualified. I am convinced that we were right, but anyone who holds the opposite opinion and tries to do anything about it is surely supporting a hopeless cause. The highly industrialized society in which we live constantly requires more advanced education for greater numbers. Other nations are rapidly coming to this same conclusion, and many of them are moving towards the American pattern.

Whether our high degree of decentralization is right or wrong is quite another matter. Whether we like it or not, the local school boards are creations of the state. But education has become too important for our welfare as a nation to be left to tens of thousands of school boards



with as little guidance as is provided in most states. Educational isolationism can no longer be afforded in this country. We cannot simply shrug off what happens in school districts other than our own.

Of course, many of those who agree with me on this point will also be quick to draw a conclusion that to them seems obvious: what we need is a national educational policy, they argue, and so Washington is the place where those who really take education seriously should make their voices heard. To which I venture to disagree strongly. I submit it is just this sort of reasoning that has led to dangerous confusion and failures in the making of American educational policy.

It is not in Washington but in our state capitals that efforts are most urgently needed to correct the shortcomings of our schools. Why? Well, for one thing, because the authority of the Federal government is strictly limited in educational matters—both by law and by tradition. The Federal government cannot establish school districts; except under very special circumstances, it cannot open or close schools and colleges. Clearly a government without the power to establish educational institutions is hardly in a position to establish a national educational policy. Congress can provide money, and it has done so in increasingly large amounts. From the Morrill Act passed during the Civil War to the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Federal government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars in ways that have certainly influenced education fundamentally in all the states. But if this is policymaking, it is policymaking by a process of continuous bribery. How well the money is spent, in thousands of public schools and hundreds of public and private colleges, depends on how well these institutions are managed. And in the last analysis the effectiveness of state officials must be the determining factor. Whether we like it or not, it is the states—subject, of course, to the Federal Constitution—that have the ultimate authority in matters of public education.

If the American people would only accept the fact that we have inherited not a national system of education but fifty state systems, we could at least get rid of our illusions about what Congress or the President can do. We simply cannot have —and few of us would actually want—a national educational policy in the sense that France has one. What we could have, however, is a *nationwide* policy. But to develop such a policy would require proper-

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ly co-ordinated action among the states. And first and foremost, it would require strong state departments of education.

New York and California: The Best from Both

Let me make it plain that I am not advocating the creation in any state of an educational system run from the state capital. I cannot imagine the abolition of local boards, which are and must be a permanent part of our tradition. I can imagine, however, far more leadership from the chief state school officer than is now exercised in any state except New York, where Commissioner James E. Allen has gone a long way, it seems to me, toward showing what can be done. I can hope that in those states where the state teachers' organization has almost a monopoly of power over curriculum, a strong lay element will be introduced into the decision-making process. And as regards the education of teachers, I can hope that a state board of education composed of laymen (as in New York) would see to it that professors of the various academic subjects, professors of education, and classroom teachers work out a rational policy on teacher accreditation. The criteria for the employment of teachers in public schools must be a state responsibility unless we are to place vast powers in the hands of a private accrediting organization dominated by professors of education.

For too long, educational policy has been made in this country by the more or less haphazard interaction of various public and private groups—from the amateurs on our school boards to the professional educationists in our teachers' colleges and national organizations, from ill-informed or politically motivated state legislatures to a wide variety of fund-dispensing Federal agencies. The decisions that must be made in the next few years are too important to be left to the erratic workings of such improbable machinery. And the leadership must come, I submit, from effective state departments of education.

ONE OF THE most pressing decisions to be made concerns education beyond the twelfth grade. The states differ markedly in their attempts to provide public facilities for such education. The differences are largely to be traced to the role of private colleges and universities. In the older states where many private institutions have been flourishing for a century or more, there was a tendency to regard higher education as exclusively the province of private institutions, even at a time when public responsibility for free schools in the lower grades was universally recognized. In Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York, for example, there were no state-supported universities as late as the 1940's com-

parable to the state universities of the Middle and Far West.

California has led the way. The legislature there adopted a master plan a few years ago for the expansion of higher education. In California, unlike most other states, there is no longer a struggle in each legislative session over whether this or that two-year college should become a four-year institution and which colleges, if any, should be "upgraded" to universities. I have been told by members of legislatures in certain states that local pressures often become almost overwhelming. "To argue for restrictions on over-all expenditure for education," one man told me, "is relatively easy, but to ignore pressures for the creation or expansion of educational facilities in your home town is another matter. And when every institution is out for itself, education becomes a pork barrel."

Competent state guidance for local public schools through the twelfth grade and the expansion of higher education are only two of the many problems that beset us. But I would go so far as to say that if we could imagine combining California's master plan for higher education with New York's board of regents and its commissioner of education, we would have a very useful vision indeed of American public education at its best.

State Rights—and Responsibilities

But even if all fifty states had master plans for higher education and strong departments of education, we would still lack a nationwide educational policy. We would still not have any way of dealing with the many problems that cut across state lines. We would still have no way of relating the expenditure of Federal funds to the over-all needs of the nation. It seems clear to me that what is required is an extension of the idea of interstate compacts—such as the Southern Regional Education Board, in which sixteen states are represented, the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (thirteen states), and the New England Board of Higher Education (six states)—an idea that has been most successful in providing fruitful collaboration in higher education. We need some such mechanism at every level of education by which the states could pool information and work together in exploring major problems. What is required—as I have argued at somewhat greater length in my new book, *Shaping Educational Policy*—is a bold new effort in co-operative federalism.

I shall attempt to be specific but also cautious. There may be many ways by which co-operation could be achieved. In presenting my own proposal, I therefore underline the obvious fact that this is only one possible way of achieving the desired end of effective state co-operation. What I propose is that all fifty states, or at least fifteen or twenty of the more populous, enter into a compact creating a commission for planning a nationwide educational policy. I

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would have the Federal government represented by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The real work would be done by special committees appointed by the commission; they would report to the commission, and the commission in turn would report to the state governments.

The first job for each special committee would be to get more facts on a state-by-state basis. The second would be to formulate recommendations taking into account the differences among the states. There are so many problems that it is hard to specify those which seem most urgent. But I would place education in Grades 13 and 14 (junior-college work) and vocational education for those seeking employment on leaving high school near the top of my own list. Other matters that certainly ought to concern all the states include: uniformity of standards for professional degrees, the use of Federal funds for the promotion of research in all fields of learning rather than just in sciences and technology, the education of teachers, and—most difficult of all—the education of the Negro.

I am well aware that there is no particular novelty in suggesting the appointment of a national body to plan for the future of American education. Three Presidents—Hoover, Truman, and Eisenhower—have already called into being commissions of educators and distinguished laymen. The record of these committees' accomplishments is admittedly not such as to produce excessive optimism about the appointment of still another. And yet I persist in my conviction that the creation of an interstate educational planning commission as the result of a compact among the states would be something entirely new. It would differ from the usual Presidential or Congressional advisory commission in several important respects. Most important of all, it would necessarily recognize the realities of the conditions in each state. And in reporting its recommendations to the various state legislatures or state boards of education, it would be placing the responsibility for action where it actually resides under our system. For although the administrative co-operation and financial assistance of the Federal government will certainly be necessary, it is up to the states to see that our schools measure up to our ambitions for them.

WHETHER the reader responds favorably or not to my suggestion of an interstate commission with its special committees, I hope he will agree that it is high time the American people really took education seriously. I hope he will also agree that there is need for a detailed state-by-state study of the adequacy of American schools, colleges, and universities and that such a study should be set up so as to provide a basis for action by the states as well as the Federal government. For only in this way, I am convinced, can we arrive at a nationwide policy adequate to meet the challenges of the age in which we live.

First Steps and Basic Premises

We in the United States have never had—and without a Constitutional amendment never could have—the kind of concerted national educational policy, established and enforced by a governmental ministry, that is common in many European countries. And I am not proposing the adoption of such a system. But through a process of co-operative federalism among responsible representatives of the states, I believe that we might at least begin to bring some order out of the educational chaos that now prevails in this country.

Needless to say, sending even the most high-powered interstate planning commission into the controversial areas where our most pressing problems are to be found without adequate guidelines would insure catastrophic failure at the outset. But it seems to me that certain premises could and should be agreed on without much difficulty. In my opinion, these premises should include the following:

1. All future citizens of the nation should receive an education that will prepare them to function as responsible members of a free society, as intelligent voters, and if appointed or elected to public office, as honest, reliable servants of the nation, state, or locality.

2. Each state is committed to the proposition of providing free schooling to all children in the state through twelve grades.

3. Parents have a right to send their children to private schools, colleges, and universities instead of to publicly supported institutions.

4. All normal children should attend school at least six hours a day, 180 days a year, at least until they reach the age of eighteen, although the states differ and will continue to differ in regard to laws requiring school attendance and in the way special provisions are made for physically and mentally handicapped children.

5. Each state accepts the responsibility of providing for the education of at least some of its youth beyond high school. The organization and financing of such education differs and will continue to differ state by state, but in each state opportunities for education beyond high school now include at least one university chartered by the state and largely supported by public funds; the continuation of such universities as centers of research, advanced study, and above all, fearless free inquiry is essential to the welfare of the states and the nation.

6. Education provided in high school and beyond by public institutions is designed to develop the potentialities of all the youth to fit them for employment in a highly industrialized society.

7. The financing of education, including research and scholarly work in the universities, is a concern of private universities, the states, and the Federal government.

Many of these points may seem to be mere truisms. But as a matter of fact, given the haphazard way in which our school systems have grown up in this country, the declaration of some such set of premises would be the first step in shaping a nationwide educational policy. We now assume these principles to be valid, but in fact they have never been promulgated by representative assemblies. —J. B. C.

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Preferential Treatment For Negroes?

FRED M. HECHINGER

AMERICAN EDUCATION has a long history of sentimentality. It is, on the whole, an attractive quality that puts a kind-hearted optimism ahead of the stern taskmaster's stress on achievement, placing value on all that is good in a child rather than on his weaknesses. To the extent that this process bolsters the student's self-confidence, it may actually persuade him to overcome his deficiencies. This attitude has saved the American school from the worst extremes of some of its foreign counterparts that dump masses of youngsters on the educational garbage heap.

But it must also be admitted that the road to failure for many an American educational venture has been paved with the best of sentimental intentions. In the 1930's, for example, a misguided pseudo-psychological and phony-democratic theorizing led to the device of "automatic promotion." Now happily on its way out, it was based on the belief that keeping a child back a grade would damage his self-esteem; even the youngster who clearly could not cope with the following year's curriculum was "passed on." The result was that deficiencies often became progressively worse until, five or six years later, the frustrations had built up to an insurmountable barrier. The final consequence, very often, was the dropout.

Automatic promotion was a form of what we now call preferential treatment: it gave special consideration to those who failed, for whatever reasons, to meet certain specified requirements. It is well to keep this in mind during the current debate on whether Negroes should be given preferential treatment—in schools, in college admission, in getting jobs as teachers. For preferential treatment in American education is not a new idea, dreamed up as a revolutionary device by the civil-rights movement.

American educators, however, are troubled by guilt feelings toward the Negro. In fact they ought to be. Dr. James B. Conant has bluntly charged in his new book, *Shaping Educational Policy:* "I hardly need point out that until recently all concerned with shaping policy for elementary and secondary education have either ignored the subject of Negro education or accepted completely segregated schools as a matter of course. No state official until very recently has even admitted the existence of a problem. . . . We have talked about our public school system and how it responds to and is conditioned by all types of groups and social classes *except* the Negro."

To be sure, the conditions that subjected Negroes to inhuman degradation and socio-economic-political deprivation were not created by the school and the academic community. Yet educators apparently never comprehended—at least until the Supreme Court stepped in—that it was their mission to offer Negroes an educational rope ladder for an escape from ignorance and poverty. The extent of their lack of comprehension is underlined by the argument, still put forth by some public-school officials even today, that, after all, other minorities have battled their way out of the slums into the mainstream of American life without preferential treatment and often against heavy odds of discrimination. This argument overlooks two crucial differences: none of the other large minorities faced discrimination decreed by law, as it has been against Negroes in at least seventeen states of the Union: and, equally important, no other sizable group was set apart so dramatically by color. This is a brutal barrier against assimilation and a special handicap in a society that has deep-seated though often publicly denied color prejudices.

Given these facts, the demand for preferential treatment cannot easily be shrugged off as a minority's or a political movement's arrogance. In many specific ways, what may seem preferential treatment to some who are unsympathetic to the Negroes' cause is to others nothing more than a restoration of rights and opportunities too long denied.

A Misguided Kindness

And yet the question of preferential treatment cannot be answered solely in general terms of justice or good will. It must be judged in terms of specific cases and particular circumstances. Many leaders of the Negro college and teachers' associations, for instance, are firmly opposed to the establishment of any double standard in the testing and accreditation of Negro and white teachers, and they persist in this view despite the double standards in the training of teachers. Close to a hundred thousand students are enrolled in the 116 Negro or predominantly

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Negro colleges in the nation, most of them in the South. For a hundred years, these have been the almost exclusive training ground for the Southern Negro teaching profession, ministry, and other educated careers. As such, they have struggled against unbelievable obstacles—notably of students reared in total segregation and trained in markedly inferior segregated public schools. The faculty members have themselves emerged from the same milieu, more or less isolated from the academic world at large.

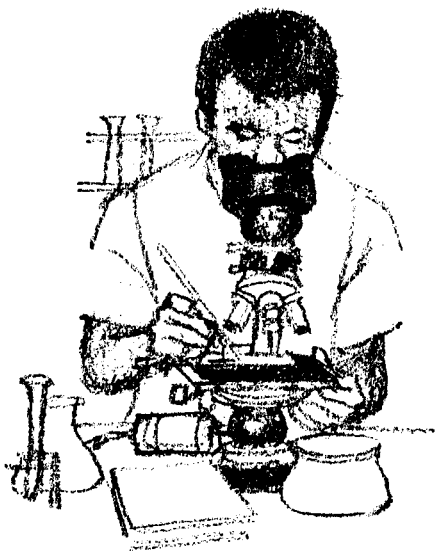
An analysis of the National Teacher Examinations, administered by the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey, has demonstrated serious deficiencies in Negro students' backgrounds in North and South Carolina. In tests given two years ago, average scores for seniors in thirty-six white colleges ranged from 684 to 535. The average score for seniors at fifteen Negro colleges ran from 488 to 413. The highest-scoring senior at one of the poorest Negro colleges achieved a score considerably below the lowest-scoring senior at one of the best white colleges in those two states. At one Negro college in North Carolina where students' I.Q.s ranged from 68 to 120, about half of the incoming freshmen were at or below the eighth-grade level in mathematics and reading. An analysis of the student body at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, a Negro institution, showed that of the seven hundred or so freshmen who are admitted annually, only about fifteen per cent graduate four years later. Of 1,453 scholarships awarded during the past four years in Florida to would-be teachers on the basis of competitive examinations, only four went to Negro contestants.

Yet the former president of one of the best Negro colleges (himself a Negro) has long pleaded with Northern universities not to give preferential treatment to Negro candidates for advanced academic degrees. Year after year, he pointed out, these institutions have liberally handed out masters' and doctors' degrees, especially through their schools of education, without insisting on equality of performance. Their misguided humanitarian instincts—not unlike the schools' earlier "automatic promotion" of unqualified pupils—merely perpetuated a vicious circle: the Ph.D.s charitably given to Negro teachers endangered the education of future Negro generations.

Where to Draw the Line

The dangers of such misguided kindness are not confined to the training of teachers. In the competition of society at large the less qualified employee will quickly lose out, with the result of renewed bitterness and recriminations. The hostility of those who are initially passed over will be intensified. Even more important, the racists' assertion of Negro inferiority will be "documented" by case histories which, even though they prove nothing more than that acquired competence is important, will sound persuasive, especially to the disgruntled in search of scapegoats.

There is no all-purpose dividing line, but for practical guidance it might be said that preferential treatment will accomplish nothing, and can do severe harm, beyond high school. College admission is the natural marker. At that point, further preparation for the economics of adult life requires readiness to compete on equal terms, if the preparation is to be at all meaningful. (It goes without saying that the terms must be truly equal.) While the permissive admission standards of the two-year community colleges that enroll anyone with a high-school diploma seem to offer preferential treatment over those who must compete for admission to higher education, they at least offer it to everybody alike.



But if it is agreed that preferential treatment should stop at the college-entry point, it then becomes essential that intensive, custom-tailored preferential treatment be given throughout the earlier stages of education. This is not a new and revolutionary demand. The American public school has a long tradition of offering new entrants into American life the chance to make up for their deficiencies in language, cultural training, and economic preparation. The special night school for immigrants is by now an honored and, thanks to Leo Rosten, even a literary tradition.

WITHOUT adding to the already excessive sociological analyses of the flaws in lower-class Negro family life, it is perfectly clear that preferential treatment must be given to the child born to such handicaps. Such treatment does not mean the mere physical transfer of young children out of the slums for the few hours of the school day. Simply to shift children without any preparation from the minority ghetto to the surroundings of the middle class may lead to the same results—in educational terms at least—that the now discredited automatic promotion did. From the point of view of race attitudes, it may, though not in the earliest grades, lead to something far worse: the erroneous "discovery" by white middle-class children that the newly arrived Negro classmates are inferior. This could easily invite perpetuation of the racist doctrine of white supremacy. And based on personal experience (no matter how distorted and phony) rather than on the more easily dispelled propaganda of the past, it could become more virulent.

This is not an argument against integration; indeed, the point is to get busy as early as possible to wipe out cultural deprivation and to overcome environmental handicaps. Experiments such as Dr. Martin Deutsch's in New York, demonstrating how pre-kindergarten schooling can help slum children overcome their environment, clearly

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point the way. If such action is continued through the early grades of elementary schools, it will make integration that much more meaningful for the Negro youngster. It will prepare him for the vital turning point at which, given equal civil and economic rights, preferential treatment can be rejected as a degrading and unnecessary condescension.

TO THAT END, however, intensified preferential treatment is necessary at all levels of primary and secondary schooling. The past summer provided many "it's never-too-late" examples in the growing number of programs offered on the campuses of so-called prestige colleges to tutor, condition, inspire, and guide Negro youngsters of high-school age. Dartmouth, for example, tried a crash program for Negro boys to make them eligible for admission to the country's leading prep schools, some of them associated in the public mind with the very essence of white majority snob appeal. Such programs could become even more successful when aimed at the less prestigious colleges.

The need for preferential treatment is not confined to the individual pupil. It must include institutions as well, and here the need goes beyond the high-school level. The nation's predominantly white or integrated colleges and universities must assume a direct responsibility for the forgotten segment of American education. This is not a case of the White Man's Burden; it is a matter of eliminating past academic irresponsibility, to say nothing of national educational necessity.

Small beginnings are now being made. Some Eastern and Western universities are forging reciprocal treaties with Negro colleges—a pattern of institutional "Big Brother" adoption that, if successful, could lead to more extensive academic cooperation and eventual equality. Representative Edith Green (D., Oregon) hopes to persuade Congress to provide money for a domestic Fulbright program that would send senior professors of some of the leading universities to Negro colleges for at least a year of teaching; during the same period, one or more of the Negro college's junior faculty members would go to the visiting professor's institution for advanced professional training.

The Tyranny of Tests

Finally, there is the question of preferential treatment in connection with tests. There is little doubt that I.Q. tests, for instance, are linked to the prevailing culture. This makes them middle-class-oriented and, since the Negro slum stands outside the middle-class mainstream, color-biased. It has already been pointed out that the existing scholarship examination in at least one state has virtually excluded Negro youths from teacher-training stipends.

Does this mean that Negroes should be freed from the tyranny of all tests that might show a middle-class bias? It would seem obvious that if a test, administered at an early age, tends to freeze any group of

children into the deprived pattern that has made the test an unfair yardstick, then the test, not the children, must be sacrificed. This appears to have been the reasoning behind the New York City Board of Education's decision to abandon the use of elementary-school intelligence tests, at least until new yardsticks can be developed.

But it is equally important to train Negro youngsters as rapidly as possible for the day when they must submit themselves to the same tests as the middle-class pupil, without preferential treatment. I realize that there are some who would brush aside the entire argument of middle-class standards by asking, What's so sacred or superior about America's middle-class culture? The answer is that nothing is sacred about it; indeed, many of its standards and mores can stand substantial improvement. But it is irrational to suggest that therefore lower-class standards should be the norm. To admit that the deprivations of slum life create their own strengths is not to say that they should become the pattern of national life. Middle-class Negroes will be the first to agree to this. Even less acceptable is the view of a small minority of those who misinterpret the civil-rights cause by turning it into a mission of revenge for past wrongs. They are not really talking about preferential treatment for the deprived as much as about making the white majority suffer in retaliation for past misdeeds.

There can be no question that the actions and omissions of white America in the past call for humble and effective efforts to help the oppressed gain what is rightfully theirs. But such retaliatory suggestions as sending white middle-class children into schools in Negro slums are surely unwise. Stirring up new hatreds cannot compensate for past injustice. And the theory that middle-class children will learn to understand the problems of slum children by being among them is a dangerous fallacy: it requires far greater sophistication than young children can muster to "understand" social problems by living with them.

THE ONLY rational course is to give the Negro child every opportunity, as early as possible—and where preferential treatment is indicated, it should be given. When it comes to giving preferential treatment to slum schools, Dr. Conant put the case quite simply: "I should advocate pouring money into such schools with the hope of overcoming the incredible handicaps under which children in the Negro slum schools now suffer."

The gigantic salvage operation is an economic and ideological necessity as much as a humane obligation. But the crux of the efforts must be to help Negro youth, before the end of their high-school education, to reach the point at which preferential treatment is no longer needed or wanted. At the heart of the matter is the fact that discrimination and ill-timed preferential treatment share one common consequence: destruction of a man's faith in his own capacity.

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American Investments In Europe

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

"EUROPE," a leading French politician warned recently, "will be colonized by the United States unless we decide to pool our resources in order to create industrial concerns comparable in size to the American ones and able to compete with them on an equal footing. The colonization of our economy has already begun.' There has been no dearth of such alarums from Common Market nations over the past few months; the significance of this one stems partly from its context, partly from its source. It appeared in an editorial in the Marseilles daily *Le Provençal* signed by its owner, Gaston Defferre, Socialist mayor of the city and the only serious rival so far to Charles de Gaulle in next year's presidential elections. Defferre, whose campaign is backed by prominent French supporters of European integration and Atlantic solidarity, charged that de Gaulle's nationalist policies were hampering Europe's defense against the "colonialist" threat from across the ocean, but the typically Gaullist terms in which he defined the issue illustrate a substantial French consensus in regard to it.

American economic domination is viewed with alarm by journals ranging from the Communist *l'Humanité* to the official bulletin of the Conseil National du Patronat Français, the French NAM. Besides proving that concern over what some writers here call the "dollar invasion" of Europe is not a Gaullist monopoly—it is not exclusively a French one either—Defferre's warning, embedded in a general commentary on the interlocking problems of the Common Market, NATO, and the so-called Kennedy round of trade negotiations, underscores the importance of the issue as a background factor in the gathering crisis of western unity.

LOGICALLY, one would expect European fears of American "economic imperialism" to manifest themselves most directly in encouraging protectionist resistance to the sweeping liberalization of trade among the free nations of the world that is the goal of the Kennedy round. The United States already sells about twice as much to Europe as it buys, and if, as the United States delegation hopes, the Kennedy-round negotiations now under way in Geneva produce a straight fifty per cent reduction of import duties on most items of commerce, then the European market will be opened even wider to American goods, with painful consequences for many European industries.

This prospect, which is particularly distasteful to some French industrialists, impeded the negotiation in Brussels last month of a list of Common Market products to be excluded from the automatic across-the-board tariff cut that the Kennedy round seeks to achieve. But instead of breaking down over French intransigence as some had expected, the Brussels talks ended with unanimous agreement on a common list of exceptions adding up to no more than nineteen per cent of the European Economic Community's dutiable imports, roughly the same percentage of exceptions that the United States had stipulated for itself. France could for all practical purposes have scuttled the Kennedy round in Brussels by sticking to its original voluminous list of exceptions; its decision instead to make concessions to the viewpoint of its less protectionist-minded partners, especially the Germans, was adopted mainly for tactical reasons—the Federal Republic will now find it more awkward than ever to avoid meeting the French demands for bringing farm products into the Common Market—but also in part because the kind of protection provided by tariff walls and quotas no longer suffices to assure national or regional economic independence. Except in agriculture and in the limited industrial fields covered by the Community's list of Kennedy-round exceptions, the real threat, as the French see it, lies elsewhere.

Though the French acknowledge Europe's need for American investment, there has been a steady flow of articles, speeches, and studies here in recent months stressing, often in alarmist terms, the growing industrial bridgehead American business firms have established upon Common Market territory, either by

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setting up branch factories or by buying into existing European companies. According to the U. S. Department of Commerce, direct United States investment in the six Common Market countries in 1963 amounted to $4.5 billion.

French economic writers participating in what is evidently a concerted campaign occasionally launch charges of cultural brashness, social callousness, or ruthless business methods against the invaders, but it is the awesome economic power lying behind American business branches in Europe that worries the European business community.

The Giant Shadow over Europe

In the light of Western Europe's general comeback since 1945, and particularly in view of the Common Market area's persistent economic dynamism, it sounds odd to hear European businessmen who two years ago were thumping their chests talk now as if they were the exploited inhabitants of some underprivileged region behind God's back. Undoubtedly there is more than a trace of exaggeration in their complaints, as seems evidenced by the current European tendency to dwell on the catastrophes that might ensue from some hypothetical—and grotesquely implausible—misuse of American economic power. As René Dabernat, a leading French economic journalist, has pointed out, if every car coming off the production lines of Opel, General Motors' German subsidiary, were given away for the next twelve months, the parent corporation would still have some $750 million in net earnings to distribute among its stockholders. If General Foods decided to sell its Krema candies in France at ten per cent below the cost of production, warns the highly regarded business weekly *Entreprise,* within two or three years not a single French candy manufacturer would be left in business; yet General Foods' profits-to-sales ratio would only drop from 6.0 to 5.9 per cent. "American investments in Europe may represent only a negligible percentage of the global European investment," *Candide* stated, "but behind these modest bridgeheads can be discerned the giant shadow of concerns whose financial strength allows them to take the most audacious risks, including the risk of setting up subsidiaries designed to operate at a loss for several years so as eventually to overpower their competitors."

So far, there is little evidence of any such sinister intentions on the part of the American giants. It would be a serious mistake, however, for either U.S. business or the U.S. government to shrug off European apprehensions about the "invasion" of American economic power. "I feel that, over-all, the problem of American bigness and of American investment in Europe has been overdrawn," John W. Tuthill, head of the U.S. Mission to the European Communities, told the Trade Expansion Mission of the (American) National Association of Manufacturers on its October visit to Brussels. "Yet the simple fact that it concerns Europeans should be enough to sensitize Americans to its importance. What you gentlemen do in your own business operations will certainly help determine whether the issue diminishes or grows as a problem of American relations with the European communities." It was perhaps the strongest warning yet heard from an official United States source that the Common Market craze which has swept American business in recent years has dangerous as well as constructive potentialities.

Some American observers in Europe feel that Tuthill's warning needs to be heeded as much by his superiors in Washington as by the American business community here. Over the years, successive administrations have encouraged U.S. industrialists who set up branches in Europe to think of themselves both as apostles of interdependence and as canny insiders on the world of tomorrow. "Starting an operation in Europe has now got to be a sort of status symbol back home," one harassed American executive remarked to me. "If we're not careful, the whole thing will get out of hand."

ALTHOUGH the recent spate of articles and speeches in Europe on the threat of American economic penetration is most pronounced among Gaullist Frenchmen, it is by no means confined to France. In West Germany, for instance, such misgivings rarely get published, but French Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was told by his German colleagues at a meeting of the Common Market ministerial council not long ago that they are now widespread among German businessmen. Direct U.S. investments in West Germany total an estimated $1.8 billion. According to Bernd Huffschmid, a well-known West German economic journalist, some German businessmen "have expressed privately the desire for moderate legislation regulating foreign economic infiltration." A kind of underground resistance to further United States penetration has manifested itself among German industrialists and bankers, blocking American attempts to acquire a controlling interest in certain key German firms. An example is the recent announcement of an accord between Volkswagen, the largest German auto producer, and the aristocratic old firm of Daimler-Benz to salvage a third German automobile company, DKW, partly owned by Daimler. One of the reasons for the arrangement was to forestall DKW from falling into the hands of Chrysler, which is already solidly entrenched in the Common Market through its controlling interest in the French Simca.

In France, the chief inspirer of the campaign against U.S. business encroachment is unmistakably the powerful Conseil National du Patronat Français, whose monthly *Patronat Français* devoted most of its September issue to the subject. The dominant motivation of the CNPF in launching its new campaign was not chauvinism in the old-fashioned sense. "The truth is that nothing will stop the American giants," says the popular weekly *Paris-Match,* "except a European gigantism." Georges Villiers, president of the CNPF, developed the same idea more soberly in *Patronat Français* through statistics comparing the size of the chief U.S. and European corporations in which the top French company ranked No. 57: "They at least indicate certain factors of inferiority among French and European as against American enterprises . . . in a certain number of industrial sectors our chances for the future depend on a major effort of concentration. . . . The Common Market would finally turn out to be

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a failure if the trend toward concentration of industry did not develop."

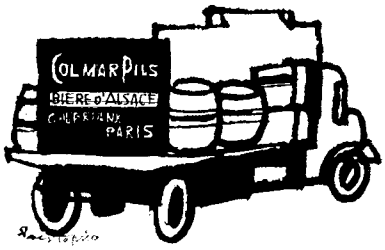
Last month, Villiers had a number of talks with his German opposite number, Fritz Berg, resulting, it was reported, in an agreement to work together to promote more marriages between the larger French and German concerns, especially for joint activities in third countries. The attempt was publicly endorsed by former Chancellor Adenauer during his November visit to Paris.

In this campaign, Socialists, Communists, and labor groups take the same position as the *patrons*. In mid-October all three of the French metalworkers' unions called for a meeting of labor representatives from the six Common Market countries to discuss the crisis in the European automobile industry allegedly caused by the "American invasion" and other factors. Referring to the increasing competition between European and American auto manufacturers, Henri Beaumont, secretary of the CGT metalworkers' union, the chief initiator of the move, explained to French reporters that "The European automobile market has become a jungle and the wild beasts are fighting each other to enlarge their hunting grounds." In Italy, Socialists and Communists have long opposed American arrangements with Italian corporations, which, unlike their French counterparts, have generally welcomed the "invaders."

The Merger Trend

As the Common Market approaches its economic moment of truth when all internal barriers to trade are to disappear, the expected intensification of internal competition is beginning to display some unexpected patterns. Within member nations there has been a steady movement toward greater concentration of industry; the strongest competitors have gradually eliminated or swallowed up many of the weaker ones, thereby becoming still stronger. At the level of the European Economic Community itself, however, the tendency toward fusion between companies in different member nations has been much more "timid," as Robert Marjolin, the EEC's French vice-president, complained in a recent speech.

There are thousands of accords between French, German, and other European firms calling for varying degrees of co-operation, but few of them involve sufficient interpenetration of capital to be describable as mergers. In fact, until recently there was not a single close entente of any kind involving really big firms from two or more member nations of the Community. Complicated arrangements that some specialists consider as virtually equivalent to mergers—though the participants retain their separate corporate identities—have now been negotiated between Alsthom, a more or less international concern, and the French CGE (Compagnie Générale de l'Electricité) in the electrical construction industry, and above all between Agfa, the great German photographic-materials firm, and Gevaert, its Belgian opposite number. Agfa-Gevaert should be able to look even the giant Eastman Kodak in the eye; the combine seems a log-



ical prototype of the industrial concentration across national frontiers that the creation of a European Common Market of some two hundred million consumers is bound to foster.

There are numerous other prototypes of quite different structure, however. In these situations a firm in one of the EEC countries goes outside the Six to achieve the backing necessary to keep up with increasingly dynamic competitors and to expand its operations on a scale commensurate with the expanding potentialities of the Common Market. It enters into some kind of association with a larger company, sometimes a British, Swiss, or Swedish one, but much oftener an American. When the outside partner is content to supply capital, knowhow, patent licenses, and merchandising skills in return for a minority share of the European company, plus access to a sales organization to distribute its own products in Europe, it is hard to see how any legitimate European interest is imperiled, no matter how gigantic the outsider may be. What bothers many European industrialists and economists, including some of the staff of the EEC commission, is their conviction that the outside firm, especially if it is American, will end by acquiring absolute control of the European partner. According to *Entreprise*, Americans now "dominate" eighty-seven per cent of the French firms in which they participate, while in seven per cent control is shared fifty-fifty and in only six per cent is the American interest a minority one.

THERE is a possible threat to basic objectives of the Common Market in the type of association between European and American firms illustrated by last summer's accord between the Bull computer company in France and General Electric. Bull is the only French firm producing big computers and similar advanced electronic equipment; seeing it forced into any kind of alliance with Americans was a real blow to French national pride. The French government fought hard to save an enterprise so essential to the development of General de Gaulle's *force de frappe*. If Bull's difficulties had been solely financial, the government would certainly have bailed the company out, if necessary by nationalizing it. Unfortunately, despite some notable scientific achievements in recent years, the company lacked the means to keep pace with the technological advances of its larger rivals, or to create an adequate worldwide sales organization. When it became clear that there was no feasible or acceptable alternative, President de Gaulle, it is said, personally approved an accord between Bull and G.E. providing for the creation in France of two jointly owned subsidiaries for production and sales, in one of which G.E. has a fifty-one per cent interest, while it owns only forty-nine per cent of the other. Bull is thus kept alive—in fact as well as in name—for France, while G.E. gains what it really wanted: a foothold in the Common Market. Both partners profit from the partnership,

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and so do their respective countries. Probably the same thing can be said of a similar accord G.E. has concluded with the computer division of Olivetti, the Italian office-equipment manufacturer.

From the viewpoint of an integrated European economy, the arrangements may be more dubious. General Electric, with its French and Italian allies, seems destined to divide the European market with another American giant, IBM, whose operations in France had helped drive Bull to the wall. The only serious rival in the computer field they face on this side of the ocean is the great German electrical firm of Siemens—provided that negotiations between Siemens and RCA come to a successful conclusion. If they do, Europe will see a three-cornered struggle between international supergiants: G.E.-Bull-Olivetti, IBM International, and RCA-Siemens. This may prove a good thing for the European economy, but it is not quite what Europe's founding fathers anticipated when they drafted the Treaty of Rome setting up the Common Market. A comparable though less extreme situation exists in the automobile industry, where General Motors and Ford already have a strong position inside the Common Market, while Chrysler is fighting to achieve one through the nominally French Simca. Chrysler owns sixty-four per cent of Simca's stock and Fiat of Italy owns twenty-five per cent of the rest.

Back to Cartels

Regardless of which partner is dominant, do associations between Europeans and outsiders impede the growth of indigenous patterns of concentration in the Common Market? Nobody knows for sure, but a number of European experts think they do. "The presence of American interests in the area," wrote Pierre Drouin in *Le Monde*, "compromises purely European alliances, sometimes in the very sectors where they would be most useful." Other European economic writers feel that the issue of European economic independence versus American domination is rapidly being outdated by developments. Within ten to twenty years, wrote Michel Drancourt, an editor of *Entreprise*, the world's means of production will be largely in the hands of six or seven hundred firms. Many of these industrial supergiants will be nominally American; others will have their official headquarters in Europe; but they will all be international in fact. The real problem of the future, according to Drancourt, is to make sure that the giants are also multinational and subject to some kind of democratic control—i.e., that ownership is effectively divided among stockholders in two or more countries. Such is the case with concerns like Royal Dutch-Shell, Unilever, Nestlé, and Eastman Kodak.

Most of the current European writings on the problem of American "gigantism" have more immediate focus. American officials here suspect that the Patronat's argument that European industrial giants are needed to compete with American bigness is designed to prepare public opinion for a "realistic" cartel policy in the Common Market. Up to now it might be said that the EEC commission which acts as watchdog over the anti-cartel clauses of the Treaty of Rome has avoided the charge of being unrealistic by having no policy. On the basis of its officials' public statements, the commission is generally well disposed toward concentrations achieved by outright merger, vigilant but open-minded about industrial ententes, and death on cartels. Since no definite criteria for cataloguing these different types of association have been established, the commission has managed to keep everyone happy.

Recently, however, it has shown signs of taking its antitrust mission more seriously, though there are different viewpoints on the problems within the commission as well as between member governments. It set a precedent that some European businessmen consider dangerous when it claimed the right to review the Agfa-Gevaert accord, though there is no reason to think it will withhold approval. Hence, say the skeptics, the present campaign in France and elsewhere to glamorize cartelization—rebaptized "reasonable concentration"—as the defense of European values against invading giants; the same argument, it is alleged, serves protectionist-minded European industrialists to resist full tariff reciprocity in the Kennedy round. Conversely, some Europeans suspect U.S. trade officials of brandishing the anti-cartel provisions of the U.S. Trade Expansion Act to discourage any concentrations of industry in Europe capable of opposing American business penetration. Another European charge is that the desire to escape the restrictions of the Sherman Act is one of the main reasons for the migration of U.S. industry to Europe.

ANOTHER constructive objective underlying the apparent chauvinism of certain European warnings about American economic penetration is the modernizing of European banking practice. Many European observers admit that without these American partners that are now such a prominent feature of the local business landscape (some seven hundred of the thousand largest U.S. firms today have factories in Europe, compared with 460 three years ago), European industry would have lacked the capital it needed for expansion. Yet, as Dabernat pointed out in *Le Monde*, there is no dearth of indigenous capital: "Deposits in savings accounts amount to nearly $10 billion in France, twice that sum in Germany. But European capitalism has degenerated. With only a few exceptions, our bankers lack imagination. They are content to follow the industrialist instead of blazing the trail for him." European industrialists likewise complain that the great European banks and investment trusts are often too greedy, too domineering; many feel that they are likely to enjoy more real independence as vassals of some Yankee giant than as serfs of some local lords of finance.

American officials and businessmen in Europe who deride the European, and particularly Gaullist, preoccupation with keeping intact the European "personality" overlook the fact that certain American economic pressures actually do tend to alter European social and cultural patterns in ways not all Europeans desire. In seeking to force American farm produce on Europe, as our Kennedy-round negotiators are presently doing, we may be contributing to the efficiency of European agriculture,

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but we are also helping to revolutionize, more rapidly or more completely than some Europeans believe is wise, the traditional rural social structure of Europe.

In ceaselessly declaring our hostility to cartels, we are not merely attacking a European economic vice but also a complex of economic attitudes among the European business elites that amounts almost to a way of life—and one that is not in all respects as socially vicious as we have been brought up to think. In France at least, a part of the impetus for mergers is joined with a sincere desire to speed up the economic integration of Europe—long a cardinal objective of U.S. foreign policy. In encouraging the export of American business attitudes, along with American capital and American technology, we are promoting in Europe the development of a consumer civilization like our own. This trend is perhaps inevitable, but both on the European Right and on the European Left there is a tendency to feel that it is developing too far too fast.

There is no reason why American business should not share in the European prosperity it has helped create. But if we want to see it continue sharing, both the business community itself and Washington—the latter perhaps even more than the former—should take the greatest care to avoid even the appearance of misusing a power whose very existence makes Europeans nervous. It would be self-defeating to exert too much political pressure in defense of American economic interests here; it would be fatal if we started using economic leverage in Europe to further political objectives. «»

Vietnam's Militant Buddhists

DENIS WARNER

THICH TRI QUANG, the Venerable Brilliant Mind who leads the militant Buddhist movement in South Vietnam, is no longer readily accessible to foreigners, especially newspapermen. But early in August, 1963, when I climbed the steps of the Xa Loi Pagoda here with a Buddhist layman friend, Tri Quang wanted publicity in the U.S. press, and he made us welcome.

I have rarely met a man so sure of himself. In his drab gray robes, he dominated the strange scene, with its background of barbed wire and wooden barricades and the murmur of prayer that drifted on the incense-laden breeze from the pagoda proper. Inside, several thousand Buddhists, mostly women and young girls, knelt before the enshrined heart of Thich Quang Duc, the first bonze to burn himself to death in protest against the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. A young monk hurried past us with a gasoline can, presumably for one of the three new human sacrifices Tri Quang said were in preparation.

Tri Quang did not pretend that the Buddhist religious campaign was without political motivations. His plan, it appeared, was to continue forcing the government into rash acts against the Buddhists. Each new act of violence brought new inflammatory protests from the pagodas and new incitements to Diem and his brother and sister-in-law, the Ngo Dinh Nhus, to try to end the Buddhist problem once and for all by force. When I told him that the Special Forces of the army had been alerted to attack the pagoda, he smiled and answered: "Don't you think it will help our cause if some of us are killed?"

Tri Quang's request for asylum in the American embassy after the attack on the Xa Loi Pagoda a few days later was a stratagem typical of the man. It was designed to widen the gap between the Americans and the Diem régime, and it succeeded. It did not, however, throw much light on Tri Quang's political inclinations and intentions. The Americans who questioned him found no evidence that he was a Communist, or even a neutralist. But even if one gives Tri Quang the benefit of the doubt as far as links with the Vietcong are concerned and assumes that his objectives go no further than the establishment of basic Buddhist political supremacy, there remain many reasons for concern. As some Buddhist laymen see it, the activities of his political organization are less Buddhist than Triad, a powerful secret society founded in China in the eighteenth century that later held sway over millions of Chinese in Southeast Asia. These Buddhists fear that Tri Quang's militant movement will be a vehicle by which South Vietnam may be delivered politically into the hands of the Vietcong.

Heaven and Earth

The idea may be much less far-fetched than it seems. The Triad (Heaven and Earth) Society controlled Singapore, tried to take over Bangkok, and spread through Vietnam from Ha Tien Province, which was leased to the society. Its membership once included tens of thousands of Vietnamese, including

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Ho Chi Minh's father. And in a country where secret-society membership is traditionally more binding than political ties and where reliance on astrology enters even the councils of state, the Triad became a pattern for Vietnam's furtive, complex, fragmented social structure, so bewildering to westerners and confusing even to the Vietnamese.

Although Diem outlawed the secret societies, the national tradition is made to order for unscrupulous religious manipulation. Sometimes when Ngo Dinh Nhu said that South Vietnam suffered from three disabilities and placed discord and underdevelopment ahead of the Vietcong, westerners felt that he was lacking in appreciation of the gravity of the Communist threat. But the real lack was western understanding of the clandestine nature of Vietnam's political and religious organization.

PERHAPS the closest Vietnamese equivalent to an orthodox western political organization is the Dai Viet Party. But until it began active recruiting early this year, its membership never exceeded a thousand. Many of its original members were also members of the Triad Society, from which the party borrowed much of the ritual for its secret initiation ceremony. Masked officials swore in new members at pistol point. One branch of the party, the Dai Viet Quoc Xa, in direct imitation of the killer groups of the Triad, specialized in murder and assassination. Intimidation, blackmail, and extortion were standard means of raising funds.

The other parties have similar backgrounds in clandestine organization. The Vietnamese Kuomintang Party was a direct offshoot of the Chinese Kuomintang Party, on which it drew heavily for support. In 1930 the French guillotined twelve of its leaders, an example that only helped to proliferate the number of bands, euphemistically referred to as maquis, which have always roamed the mountains or lived under local warlords. Despite its past and its connections, it still ranks next to the Dai Viet on the political lists. The Binh Xuyen, under the rule of France and Bao Dai, used to run organized vice and the police of Saigon on a strictly secret-society basis. The Hoa Hao in the southern Mekong Delta is a Buddhist offshoot with spiritual and temporal interests and, at times, substantial armed forces of its own. The Cao Dai is a mixture of Buddhists, Taoists, Confucians, spiritualists, and Christians, joined with Triad Society elements. Even the Vietcong has always depended heavily on organizational secrecy. In its formative stages, the peasants accepted the Vietcong as they accepted the secret societies, the sects, and the political maquis.

Nhu's creation of the Can Lao Party as the secret apparatus of his brother Diem's government fitted into the familiar pattern. Without the protection and patronage the Can Lao provided, the régime could not have survived. Nhu probably signed his own death warrant early in 1963 when he dismissed the Can Lao's brilliant director, Dr. Tran Kim Tuyen. From this disintegration at the center came the blunders and miscalculations that led first to the suppression of the Buddhists in the May, 1963, riots in Hué and finally to the November coup.

Diem, of course, was torn between American advice to be a compassionate ruler and the demands of Nhu and his wife to crush the Buddhists as he had smashed the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai sects and the Binh Xuyen gangsters in 1955. The result was that he failed to give any real leadership. Diem's weakness was fully exploited by the Buddhists under the direction of Tri Quang, who stirred up the crowds in Hué, engineered the sacrifices of the bonzes, and provoked the Diem régime into a succession of errors.

The Can Lao Catchall

Even when I interviewed Tri Quang in 1963, there were stories that he had Communist sympathies. He denied them. "The organization of the Vietnamese armed forces answers whether we fight Communism," he said. "Seventy per cent of the armed forces are Buddhists. There is no Communist infiltration in our ranks. We don't want to be exploited. We know that Communists not only in Vietnam but all over the world are opportunists. They are kind in word but not in deeds."

My notes of the interview record the subsequent comment by my lay Buddhist friend that Tri Quang was "more or less neutralist." The description reflected the generally sketchy information then available about Tri Quang. He was born on November 24, 1922, in Quang Binh Province in North Vietnam and attended the Higher Buddhist School in Hué. The French also viewed Tri Quang with suspicion. They arrested him in 1950 on charges of having collaborated with the Vietminh but soon let him go. In 1954, he came south with the flow of refugees from North Vietnam, most of whom were Catholics. Although he was under constant suspicion of working with the Vietcong, no proof was ever advanced and he was never arrested by Diem. In any case, it was his militant Buddhism, publicly and forcibly expressed, which soon after he settled in Hué won him the presidency of the Buddhist Association and gave him the base for his rise.

With the younger monks who were with him in the Buddhist revolt last year, Tri Quang has set out to strengthen the organization of Buddhism in Vietnam and to give it a militant political orientation that among the youth and in central Vietnam, where Tri Quang's influence is decisive, seems destined to play into the hands of the Vietcong. He has openly used Buddhism in central Vietnam to foster the Peoples' Revolutionary Force, a political movement with organizational overtones of the Triad.

While its leaders publicly protest that the Force is anti-Communist and anti-neutralist, the nine provincial committees in the movement have embarked on a campaign of character assassination and, when it suits their purpose, of lawlessness, violence, and intimidation reminiscent of the secret societies.

Tri Quang's following in the Hué region crosses the lines between the government- and Vietcong-controlled areas. His Buddhist Youth Movement there has a membership of tens of thousands. "In central Vietnam," a moderate Buddhist layman told me, "Tri Quang is king." Given the complaisant attitude of the Vietcong to Tri Quang's leadership in the district, this is not an overstatement.

In the name of defending Buddhism, Tri Quang's youth groups are ready to protest against any injustice to those who claim to be co-religion-

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ists. This "protection" extends even to arrested Vietcong suspects who are also Buddhists. To appoint his own men as chaplains in the army is another of Tri Quang's lesser ambitions. Since July, about seventy Buddhist chaplains have been with the government forces. A later development has been the creation of Buddhist committees in the army, and at least part of the collapse in morale now gravely affecting the fighting capacity of six of the twenty-eight regiments is attributed to their activities.

THE MAIN TARGETS for the Force are not neutralists and Communists, since some of their committees are known to include both, but former members of the Can Lao Party, Ngo Dinh Nhu's secret government within the government. A catchall attack on the Can Lao could include every official left over from the Diem régime, or anyone the Force opposes. Its immediate objective is the dissolution of all political parties and an early general election.

The titular leader of the Force is Dr. Le Khac Quyen, dean of the faculty of medicine at Hué University. On the critical night of May 8, 1963, Dr. Quyen was at Hué hospital when the bodies of the Buddhists killed in the riots were brought in. From that moment Dr. Quyen threw in his lot with Tri Quang and led the student agitation in Hué, for which he was imprisoned by Diem.

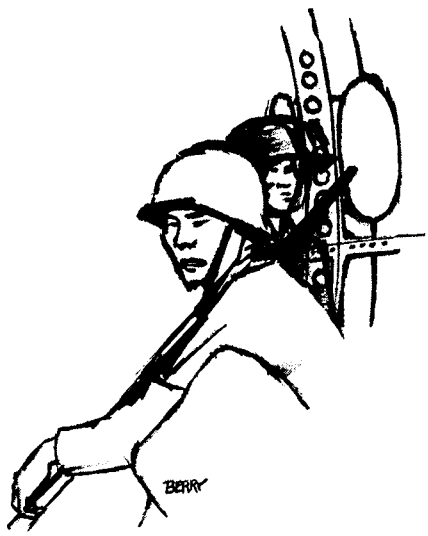
"We have a purpose, a high purpose," Quyen told me in a recent interview. "It is not that we want our members elected—we are not a party. We will tell our members to elect good candidates and then make sure that there are good candidates."

This is to be done very simply. Quyen said he has a complete list of all Can Lao members and that he intends to use this list to "survey and control" all candidates. After the election the Force will be dissolved, and if Quyen and Tri Quang's formula is accepted, the newly elected members of the National Assembly will form new parties from their ranks. The leading party, Tri Quang and Quyen are resolved, will bear the imprint of the Force. Speculating about the future, Dr. Quyen said it might become necessary "to tell the Americans to go home and to continue the fight against Communism." He has also hinted at a separatist movement in central Vietnam.

Rampant Sectarianism

Many of the older Buddhists disapprove bitterly of what is now happening. They are incensed that university students and even schoolchildren have abandoned their studies to become the monks' striking arm. They are shocked that Tri Quang's temporal activities require him to travel with bodyguards and that some of the far from humble priests have acquired such worldly goods as expensive cars and air conditioners.

These protests have been thrust aside. The United Buddhist Association of Vietnam, which was formed in 1951, has been supplanted by a new organization with the unusual name (since Buddhists do not regard themselves as members of a "church") of the Unified Buddhist Church. Its center of power is another new organization, the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith, also created



by monks against the protests of conservative Buddhists. This is a frankly secular organization, with ambitions and intentions that go far beyond those once held by the United Buddhist Association, whose lay members registered their disapproval strongly in a letter to the Venerable Tinh Khiet, who in his late seventies remains titular head of the High Buddhist Council.

Orthodox lay Buddhists were relieved that Thich Tam Chau, formerly chairman of the Intersect Committee for the Defense of Buddhism, a much more moderate and gentle man, outmaneuvered Tri Quang in the election for the chairmanship of the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith. Yet Tri Quang's followers, though a minority, control the all-important youth and finance sections of the institute, which in its structure and organization is virtually a parallel government to the government of South Vietnam.

Tam Chau is generally regarded as weak, but on occasion he has stepped in to restrain Tri Quang's political ambitions. On October 10, he issued a courageous institute communiqué that strongly condemned political agitation in the name of Buddhism. He asked all Buddhists to prevent the faith being used for political movements and to exclude political meetings from pagodas or other church buildings.

THE DISCORD and frustration running through Vietnamese political history are reflected in Saigon today. Within twenty-four hours of its formation, the new civil government under the premiership of Tran Van Huong, a sixty-one-year-old former mayor of Saigon, had come under attack from all sides and was unanimously scored by the press. Saigon's forty daily newspapers have failed utterly in helping to create national unity or to mobilize the active participation of the people in the war. The profusion of political parties only adds to the demoralization; more than sixty had applied for registration by October. Indistinguishable in doctrines or in programs, most of them claimed a dozen members or less, a situation that engenders agitation and contributes nothing to political stability. Such pervasive disunity will surely be made even worse by the growth of Tri Quang's militant movement, a movement that was strengthened in its beginnings by U.S. support of the Buddhists.

After sixteen years of watching Vietnam in the throes of war, political upheaval, and disaster, a remark Diem made in 1962 seems to me brutally pertinent: "Anyone who follows me will need to be even more of an absolute ruler."

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Mr. Blatnik Plans a Purge

DANIEL RAPOPORT

THE DEMOCRATS' victory in the last election may mean that for the first time since 1906 the House Democrats will discipline their party unfaithful. The test will probably come on the morning of January 4, a few hours before the Eighty-ninth Congress convenes.

At that time, a member of the party's liberal wing, most likely Representative John A. Blatnik of Minnesota, will move that the caucus (the Democratic House membership) refuse to seat Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Representative Albert W. Watson of South Carolina amid its ranks. He will do so on grounds that the two men openly advocated the election of the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater.

If a majority of the 295 Democrats agree with Blatnik's views of party fidelity, Williams and Watson will lose their standing as Democratic members of the House. They will thus be deprived of their Democratic seniority and committee assignments. In short, the two congressmen will have been purged.

There have been similar threats from the liberal wing before (though not as many as some imagine) and they have come to naught. The most recent occurred in 1961, when there was serious talk of purging another Mississippian, Representative William M. Colmer, who had helped to bottle up legislation in the Rules Committee and was expected to continue the practice during the Kennedy administration. The late Speaker Sam Rayburn talked the liberals out of the idea when he offered to try to unclog the Rules Committee by enlarging it. This he did and the purge was never attempted.

There are reasons, good reasons, why this latest try will also be abandoned. The most obvious is the natural desire of both the House leadership and the White House to avoid a bitter internal showdown at the very start of the new session. A second is the high esteem in which the seniority system is held in Congress and the resistance that meets any attempt to dilute it. But there are also reasons, good reasons, why a purge may be attempted this time, and why it might work.

FOR ONE THING, the liberals have proclaimed a moral and practical basis for their action: party aims cannot be achieved without party unity; party unity cannot be accomplished without discipline or the threat of it. For another, they have carefully laid their groundwork. They have unearthed the historical precedents. They have followed due process. They have the evidence. They have the emotional pull. They think they have the numbers.

Working within the framework of the Democratic Study Group—the loosely held-together organization of House liberals—the originators decided to hit early and hard on the loyalty theme. On October 2, the day before Congress adjourned, they took their first step. A "Joint Statement on Democratic Party Unity" was issued by Blatnik, chairman of the Study Group, and nine members of its executive committee. They were Richard Bolling of Missouri, Julia B. Hansen of Washington, Chet Holifield of California, James G. O'Hara of Michigan, Melvin Price of Illinois, Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, John Brademas of Indiana, and Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

In the statement (which Blatnik read the same day on the House floor), they declared their "firm intention" to oppose the seating in the Democratic caucus of anyone who openly backed Goldwater or a slate of unpledged or independent Presidential electors. The signers recognized the right of Democrats to support whomever they choose, but "We do not feel," they said, ". . . that such Members should be welcomed back into the Democratic fold and be entitled to committee assignments and other privileges on an equal basis with those members of the Democratic caucus who supported our national candidates and platform."

Predicting an "unprecedented mandate" for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, Blatnik and the others contended that the new administration and the American public were entitled to expect that Congress would enact progressive Democratic programs. "They must not be thwarted by a repudiated minority holding legislative positions of power which permit them to frustrate the mandate for progress."

The liberals considered this step extremely important. In 1961, Rayburn had made the valid point that it was not fair to punish Colmer or anyone else without having warned them beforehand that their action would draw a penalty. It was also noted then that Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was not reprimanded for having supported President Eisenhower in 1956.

With the 1961 lesson in mind, the Blatnik group publicly announced, privately notified, and otherwise warned all Democratic House members of their intention. A copy of the statement was also sent to all non-incumbent Democratic candidates for the House. Blatnik asked them to read it, hoped they would agree with its purpose, and wished them luck in their campaigns.

Secession in South Carolina

The next step was taken by Watson. On October 5 the forty-two-year-old freshman congressman went on television and told the people of his state that he had come to the conclusion that he would serve the best interests of South Carolina and the nation by supporting Senator Goldwater. He said the faith he once had in the leadership abilities of President Johnson had been destroyed by "the socialistic programs he has pressured through Congress and . . . his selection of Hubert Humphrey, the darling of the ADA, as his running mate." The next day Watson was quoted by the Charleston *News and Courier* as saying: "The leftist wing of the Democratic party has served notice it will seek revenge against me and Alabama members who support independent electors. I anticipate a real battle when we have our reorganization caucus next year. But I'll go down fighting to maintain my po-

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sition in the Democratic caucus." He had made it clear that he was not going to leave the Democratic Party voluntarily, a step that already had been taken by a fellow South Carolinian, Senator Strom Thurmond.

Watson thus met all the qualifications to become the object of a purge —all, that is, except one. He was an unimportant first-term member. There would be something slightly absurd about risking a party-splitting clash over Albert Watson. If there was to be a fight, the liberals needed a far more prominent offender. (There was, incidentally, no necessity that *anyone* be purged. One of the unspoken purposes of the Blatnik statement was to neutralize for the duration of the campaign those Democrats who were toying with the idea of endorsing Goldwater. In that sense, the effort will have to be judged successful regardless of what happens to Williams and Watson, the only two members who strayed.)

Before long the Blatnik group had their man. Speaking before a $100-a-plate "Goldwater Victory Dinner" in Jackson, Mississippi, Williams publicly announced on October 20 his support for the G.O.P. candidate: "I can maintain silence no longer, for in this critical hour silence is acquiescence; nor can I follow the easy path of political cowardice," he said. "Because my loyalty to the United States of America and my beloved Mississippi is stronger by far than my devotion to any political party name, I stand here tonight to advocate the election of Barry Goldwater as our next President, for in my heart I know he's right."

Like Watson, Williams indicated that he knew the possible consequences of his act. "How my announcement tonight may affect my future in the Congress, I do not know," he said. "I have been threatened with loss of patronage—I have no patronage now—and loss of my committee position if I refuse to support the candidate of the national Democratic party. It remains to be seen whether this will materialize; but whatever price tag may be put on honesty, I stand ready to pay."

NOW THERE WAS no question whether a purge attempt would be made. Williams met all of the prerequisites and more. He was a big target. With eighteen years of service in the House, he had ample seniority to be taken seriously. Indeed, it had elevated him to the No. 2 spot on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, making him the heir apparent to Chairman Oren Harris of Arkansas. If by some chance the ultraconservative and almost fanatical segregationist Williams were to replace Harris as chairman of this major committee, he could cause innumerable headaches for the administration, and perhaps scuttle an important bill or two.

During the Eighty-eighth Congress, the Commerce Committee handled several significant pieces of legislation, particularly in the field of health. Harris, though by no means a flaming liberal, has a commendable record in backing key administration measures and piloting some through passage. With Harris's help, for instance, President Kennedy's bill to finance and develop a new approach to mental illness and mental retardation passed the house by a 335-18 vote. Williams was one of the eighteen.

It would be unfair to say with certainty that Williams would vent

his bitterness over civil-rights policy toward unrelated measures that came before a committee he headed. But since he has the reputation of a man who is beyond the control and influence of his party, present and future leaders could be excused for not wanting to take the risk. And the liberals out to strip him of his seniority know full well that it will be easier to do it now than when he is established as a committee chairman.

It is for these reasons that the House leadership and President Johnson—if he should enter the fracas, something Kennedy did not do in 1961—might go along with a purge. They can look upon it as a golden opportunity to remove a potential troublemaker. They can also look back on the 1963 rail crisis to measure the importance of a friendly Commerce Committee chairman. Then the committee found itself in the middle of the work-rules dispute, with the impasse inexorably developing into a nationwide strike. The atmosphere was charged with deadlines, urgent conferences, and talk of a compulsory arbitration law which nobody seemed to want but which nobody knew how to avoid. Harris and his colleagues acquitted themselves well. Eventually there was no strike, even though the shortage of time pointed to one. Whatever success was achieved must be credited partly to the intimate cooperation between the committee and the administration. Could Williams have worked as closely, regardless of how sincerely he wanted to solve the problem?

The Purge Arithmetic

Should the leadership and Johnson back the move, or even if they remain neutral, the odds are heavily in favor of Williams and Watson being purged. One of those who favored lowering the boom on Representative Colmer in 1961 was Majority Leader John W. McCormack. Now that he is Speaker, there are signs that he feels the same way in the case of Williams and Watson. In any event, the liberals have good reason for optimism.

One is the tremendous aid on the floor of the House that the Democrats' gain of thirty-eight seats will give. But within the caucus the change is even more dramatic. Of the seventy-one new Democrats in the House, the Democratic Study Group figures that forty-five or fifty are of liberal bent and can be counted on to vote with it for the purge. The presumption may be overly optimistic, but with some 115 members of the Democratic Study Group returning from the Eighty-eighth Congress, only thirty-three of the new Democrats need ally themselves with the movement to turn it into a majority of the Democratic membership in the House.

A number of Southerners may be among them. Those who were courageous enough to support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket may well resent the have-it-both-ways approach of Williams and Watson. Regular Dem-

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ocrats in South Carolina were hopping mad over Watson's declaration and made no secret of their scorn for him. Other Southerners might take a less visceral attitude but decide that the future of the Democratic Party in their region lies in battling Republicans, not supporting them.

Neither Williams or Watson commands any stature or personal following that could win them votes. A secret ballot may further induce Southerners to vote against the two men. Their votes, however, would probably be offset by those of Northerners who feel strongly about seniority.

Many members will simply respond to the notion that the two men should not share in the spoils of victory on the same basis as loyal Democrats.

There is precedent for the use of discipline. The last time Democrats applied it was in 1906, when two Democratic members of the House Commerce Committee joined with Republicans, who were in the majority, to approve a rate-making bill opposed by the Democratic caucus. The minority leader removed them from the committee. Republicans meted out punishment on a broader scale in 1925 in a case more similar to the present issue, when Speaker Nicholas Longworth deprived all ten Republican members of the Wisconsin delegation of their key committee assignments for having supported the Progressive Party's Presidential candidate, Robert La Follette, the year before. There have been other instances where penalties were administered and still others where the attempts failed.

THERE ARE only two reasons why the purge may not come off, yet both could be decisive. One is the traditional attitude toward the seniority system. Seniority is inviolate to many members, especially to those who have a good deal of it. But it is the second reason that is even more persuasive. Should President Johnson decide that the purge not be carried out, the plan will undoubtedly collapse. He might take such a stand if he believed that an angry row would be detrimental to the success of his legislative program. Or he might determine that a divisive beginning to the new Congress would not be in keeping with his desire to reunite the nation after a bitter and disruptive campaign. He will have to balance these considerations against the importance of party loyalty, the chance to cast off a potentially dangerous obstacle, and the resentment of a sizable number of Democrats if he protects Williams and Watson.

In 1960, when the Democratic Study Group was preparing for the Colmer skirmish, it issued a memorandum on the question of refusing committee posts to disloyal party members. After citing cases in both parties, it concluded that use of the technique was a recognized instrument of party control whenever politically feasible. Noting that recent attempts had failed because the party did not have so many House members that it could afford to lose some, the memorandum said, "The use of this instrument appears to have been politically feasible whenever the disloyal action was taken by a single or relatively few individuals."

There are only two transgressors this time. The party breakdown in the House is 295 Democrats to 140 Republicans. If left to arithmetic, the outcome is obvious.

Aftermath in Alabama

REESE CLEGHORN

GOVERNOR George Wallace of Alabama seems to have outsmarted himself. He had wanted a little Goldwater for his state, but not nearly as much as he got. After making it possible for unpledged Democratic electors to defeat loyalist Democratic electors 4-1 in a primary last spring, he had turned his back on them. Though he never formally endorsed Senator Goldwater, his choice of the Republican national ticket was clear. In the Alabama Congressional races, on the other hand, he had endorsed the six Democrats who had Republican opposition. That, apparently, was where he wanted to draw the line on Alabama Republicanism. Toward the latter part of the campaign, confidants say, he began to fret about whether he should do more for the Alabama Democratic candidates, but he apparently decided that it was not necessary to lose any friends that way. His sole effort beyond endorsement was one appearance for Representative Armistead I. Selden, Jr., the only opposed Democratic Congressional candidate who survived the siege.

The Republicans not only carried Alabama for the national ticket by a 5-2 margin; they swept five of the six contested Congressional seats and might have captured the remaining two if they had offered opposition to those Democrats. In Montgomery County, site of the state capital, and in nine other counties, every local Republican candidate was elected. One of Wallace's best friends was beaten in a race for judge. Others who had looked to him for political guidance and protection were unsympathetically bounced by Republicans. Straight-ticket Republican voting was the order of the day. Suddenly, in Alabama's atmosphere of rebellion, the Jacobins had begun to behead the Girondists.

IN THE immediate aftermath, the acting Republican state chairman gave credit where credit was due. "Wallace helped mold people's thinking to oppose the Democratic national party," Thomas A. Brighams said. At about the same time he was uttering that tribute to the leader of the Democratic Party in Alabama, some of the Democrats were saying the same thing but without the smile.

"George Wallace can't make this disaster to Alabama Democrats look like a win," said Clifford Fulford, a Birmingham lawyer and party loyalist. "The real tragedy is that Alabama never heard but one side, because Wallace and his unpledged electors only 'stood up' last spring to lie down in the fall. . . . A Demo-

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crat cannot win by trying to out-Republican a Republican."

There has been a crescendo of calls for Democratic Party reorganization, most of it reflecting a feeling that there must be a strong party beyond the personal manipulation of Wallace. Circuit Judge Roy Mayhall, who is the state Democratic chairman but whose influence has been limited because he opposes Wallace, said: "It is my judgment that the Democratic Party of Alabama should be reorganized. I would favor a Democratic Party affiliated with the national Democratic Party, and that it should have regulations and restrictions as to permit only Democrats to engage in the Democratic primaries. . . ."

A formalized party split seems possible. It is not certain at this point that Alabama will have two Democratic Parties. But it does seem certain that it will have a loyalist Democratic Party, although it may be a small one. Even if most Alabama Democrats want to follow Wallace and an independent course, the Birmingham *News* commented, there are some who "are not going to sacrifice national party connection eternally on the altar of civil rights." All this adds up to the prospect that unless Wallace stops treating the national party as a mortal enemy, it will be a non-Wallace-oriented party of Democrats which takes Alabama's seats at the next Democratic national convention.

Aside from anxieties among Democratic politicians now faced with full-blown Republican opposition which they have never had before, Wallace confronts some bitter resentment from those who recognize a great loss in Alabama power in Washington. Whereas not one face was changed in the state's House delegation between 1955 and 1962, only three of the eight incumbents will return in January. Eighty-six years of seniority and some very able congressmen have been lost this year. The first to go were two sturdy party loyalists: Representative Carl Elliott, a sixteen-year veteran and member of the Rules Committee, defeated in the Democratic primary largely through Wallace's influence; and Representative Albert Rains, a twenty-year veteran and the second-ranking Democrat on the Banking and Currency Committee, who apparently decided it would be futile to seek re-election in the atmosphere now prevalent in Alabama. One congressman defeated by a Republican was George M. Grant, a twenty-eight-year veteran who was the third-ranking Democrat on the Agriculture Committee. People close to Wallace say he believes that the Republicans elected to Congress will be swept out two years from now. What then will it all have amounted to except an expression of anger and a sacrifice of Alabama's influence in Washington?

Actually, Wallace's own future now seems cloudy. The Alabama constitution provides that a governor may not succeed himself or serve as a U.S. senator for a full year after his term ends. Wallace supporters failed in a move last August to remove this barrier. It seems unlikely that any continuation of that effort can succeed in enabling him to seek re-election in 1966 or run against Senator John Sparkman that year. Will he oppose Senator Lister Hill in 1968? If so, he will not have the advantage of running from the governor's office. Ironically, if he should run and defeat Hill in the Democratic primary, it is probable that his own help for the Republicans this year would result in a stronger Republican opposition against him in the Senate race. Wallace's primary races in 1964 may be recorded as his peak on the national scene. And what happened in November in the three states where he thought he had made great gains for his version of conservatism? Wisconsin and Indiana, Republican in 1960, were emphatically Democratic in 1964. Maryland, Democratic by a scant 75,000 votes in 1960, went Democratic 2-1. Perhaps most revealing of the Wallace impact, Maryland was the only place where a major civil-rights issue (a referendum on public accommodations) won the voters' favor.

Right-Wing Retreat in Seattle

RILLMOND SCHEAR

Seattle

To the vast indifference of a politically surfeited public, a mass Republican meeting will be held here on December 5. At this gathering of party workers, some 1,500 precinct committeemen will haggle over nothing weightier than the selection of a new King County party chairman. But the meeting will also herald the return of the Republican Party in Washington to moderate control.

This shift in power has come about with remarkable swiftness, since Washington is one of the states in which the Goldwater forces held an early and absolute sway. Of course those forces have not suddenly vanished, and the extreme conservatives undoubtedly will back a candidate of their own at the December meeting. But he will be shunted aside and a responsible type of Republican again will become the ruler of the party organization in King County, the population center of the Pacific Northwest. A similar pattern will be followed in other counties throughout the state, shaped by the same behind-the-scenes force: the firm hand of Daniel J. Evans, Washington's thirty-eight-year-old governor-elect.

The recent election of Evans, a civil engineer from Seattle, was a lifesaver for his party. He easily repulsed the bid of Democrat Albert D. Rosellini for a third four-year term, bucking a Democratic avalanche that swept four Republican congressmen out of office and gave the Democrats control of the legislature and most state offices. Evans's defeat would have left the party sagging on its knees and subject to continued right-wing flogging. This consideration, however, was of little importance in the election, for Washington voters are notorious for their careless attitude toward the party system. (Washington is the only state with

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an open ballot for primary elections, which allows voters to wander back and forth among candidates of both parties.) Evans won, rather, by brilliant tightroping between the Goldwater zealots on the one hand and the unjustified Democratic taunts of Goldwaterism on the other. Thus, he joins with two other Republican governors, Robert E. Smylie of Idaho and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, to form a nucleus of moderate leaders around whom the party in the Northwest can repair its damage.

THE moderate control of the party in Oregon and Idaho underlines the importance of the healing process now under way in Washington State. This process is curing an unprecedented malady, one that easily could have been fatal to Governor Evans's career had his course of action been less shrewdly plotted. Before Goldwater, bitter factional fights were unheard of in the Republican organization. For one reason, the state has been free of political bosses, and for another, ideological or sectional differences have never taken precedence over the common party cause. Even the highly volatile right-to-work issue produced no lasting scars. A right-to-work initiative was overwhelmingly defeated in 1956, with disastrous effects upon Republican legislative candidates. When right-to-work petitions started to circulate again before the 1958 election, top Republicans quietly toured the state and urged party workers to drop the issue. This they did, and the party was undamaged by the defeat of another right-to-work initiative sponsored by private interests.

But in 1960, a strange brew of religiosity and far-right conservatism started to permeate the state. Although a few members of the Washington delegation to the national convention muttered about voting for Goldwater, this new phenomenon took no direct political shape. Instead, small "study groups" with such exotic names as Counterforce and Group of People started cropping up around the state, with Seattle having far more than its share of them. By 1962 the energies of these groups started to be channeled into Republican politics and were responsible, to a large degree, for the election of K. W. (Bill) Stinson, a sporting-goods salesman and study-group graduate, to one term in Congress, as well as the quiet election of numerous Goldwater supporters to uncontested precinct committeeman posts. They also contributed to the spectacular rise of young Richard G. Christensen, a fast-talking former Democrat who ran for the Senate in 1962 after leaving the Lutheran ministry. His opponent was the veteran incumbent, Warren G. Magnuson, who was considered unbeatable. Campaigning on a high pitch of fuzzy, superpatriotic, moralistic oratory, Christensen came within a surprising forty-five thousand votes of defeating Magnuson and thus was able after the election to place his supporters—invariably they were Goldwater boosters—in positions of party influence.

Down with Goldwater

This was the situation confronting Evans when he launched his bid for the governorship in 1963. A product of the legislature, where he was Republican leader in the lower house, he had an absolute allegiance to the party. Now, however, the party included a fairly sizable disruptive group that was concerned only with crusading, even if their cause should prove disastrous to the party. The Draft Goldwater movement was in full swing and was taking control of the party where it really counts in a Presidential election, at the precinct level. For a disciplined, highly motivated group faced with only scattered oppostion, this is easy to do. Normally a majority of precincts in the state have no committeeman, simply because no one can be found who is willing to file for the job. Any vacancies can be filled by the county chairman, most of whom were Goldwater partisans. And they filled the precinct vacancies with Goldwater backers who determined the choice of delegates to the state convention —and ultimately, thereby, to the national convention.

By March of this year it was all over, and the traditional party leaders realized with horror what had happened. They were even more horrified by the candidacy of Christensen for the gubernatorial nomination. Evans, however, met the Goldwater-Christensen threat head-on. Surrounding himself with shrewd young political pros, many of whom were his cohorts in the legislature, he pushed his own campaign so hard and fast that the right-wing groundswell never caught up with him. He walloped Christensen in the primary election, and his victory on November 3 counted as heavily against the corrosive right-wingers as it did against his Democratic opponent.

By contrast, Goldwater's own campaign in Washington was a comical fiasco. The state chairman of Citizens for Goldwater-Miller, a respected businessman, found out what it's like to be called a Communist by some overzealous supporters who questioned his total commitment to the cause. And Stuart Oles, a prominent Seattle attorney who masterminded the Goldwater coup in the state, was dumped as King County Goldwater chairman because he favored Evans over Christensen. The situation became pathetic when an outfit called Citizens for Goldwater of King County, Inc., was organized on a separate but more than equal basis from the county unit of Citizens for Goldwater-Miller. The new group took control of the campaign in King County, and in its frenzy it repelled a large number of voters.

THERE ARE signs, however, that even the fanatical hard core is already losing both its momentum and its conviction. Of the vast numbers of precinct committeemen who were brought into politics for the first time by the Goldwater drive, more than sixty per cent in King County failed to file in the November election for another term. Observers attribute this surprising development to a number of factors, especially the conservative loss in the gubernatorial primary to Evans and the subsequent bickering in the Goldwater ranks that may have repelled many of the precinct amateurs. Yet, largely because of behind-the-scenes work by Republican moderates, some 1,600 persons filed for the precinct jobs, a thousand more than usual. This is a clear indication of the grass-roots reorganization being undertaken by the same people who most enthusiastically supported Evans. "This Goldwater thing could *never* happen again," says one former party official. "Next time, we'll be ready for them."

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A Visit to Dimeh

ANTHONY ASTRACHAN

ONE SUNDAY in 1960 I drove up eighteen miles of dusty red-clay road from the Liberian capital of Monrovia to the village of Dimeh, where I had been invited to a tribal feast. It was my introduction to two aspects of developing societies that I would be up against in the next four years of trying to get to know Africans and attempting to contribute to African development. One is the people's ambivalence about modernization, which must somehow be linked to traditional values; the other is the problem of communicating across what has come to be known as the culture gap.

Dimeh is an important village to the Dey tribe, which once controlled most of the area in a radius of thirty miles north and west of Monrovia. Despite its proximity to the capital, the village still retains its tribal orientation. It has more square huts than round and a shop selling canned food, beer, and soft drinks—two preliminary signs of modernity—but when I visited it, the village had no school. Several months later the people began the construction of a schoolhouse, but some of the more aggressive tribes deeper in the Liberian interior had had community-built schools with government-supplied teachers five years earlier.

Dimeh's hesitation at the brink of modernity is the more interesting because its most distinguished son, Bai T. Moore, is one of the few Liberians who are full participants in the tribal culture and at the same time fully "civilized" people. Educated from 1929 to 1940 in the United States and the holder of post-war scholarships abroad, Moore is a high official of the Liberian Information Service (where I worked as a foreign-aid technician). But he is also an official in the Poro secret society, which conducts the "bush schools" that prepare boys from six to fourteen for tribal life and regulates the traditional social organization and religion. Moore was born Bai Tamia, became Johnston Moore when he had to choose a "Christian" name to go with his missionary education, and combined the names when he returned from America. Now his own people often call him Moore rather than Bai, though I could not discover whether this was an acknowledgment of his right to name himself or recognition of his added dimension, his difference.

Usually a Liberian is either "civilized" or tribal. When tribal men have made their way into the elite, they tend to leave behind their tribal ways and to forget the things that are important to the villagers—except, of course, for the modernization process when progress seems possible or desirable. Some of the young men who have progressed from mud hut to university are beginning to change this pattern, but it is still the prevailing one.

President William V. S. Tubman has tried to bring the two groups together by giving tribal people the vote and a county system like the coastal elite's—and by having himself made grand high priest of several Poro societies. The latter gesture is appreciated by some tribesmen, though others dismiss it. "He only had his face washed," they explain, meaning that Tubman still knew nothing of the real Poro initiation.

Moore believes that strangers can be friends with the tribespeople even without having their faces washed. It was he who invited us—five foreign-aid technicians, our wives and children—to the feast in Dimeh, which was being held to honor his late brother and other important dead of the clan, including his mother who had died twenty-one years before.

WHEN WE ARRIVED, Moore gave us a tour of the village. Dimeh is a double town. The original village was about two hundred yards off the right of way when the road was built, and a satellite village sprang up beside the road itself. The two villages, with about one hundred people, consist of about twenty huts of mud plastered on a framework of poles. Moore has maintained the hut in which he was born in its original round, windowless form. But the majority of Dimeh's huts have been modernized and are squared off, though most are still roofed with thatch rather than corrugated iron.

The old town is arranged in a straggling circle such as a child might draw. One arc of the central open area is a path leading down to a creek; beyond the path is

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the area of the Sande, the girls' equivalent of the Poro. It is off limits to men. At the other end of the path are the graves of important men and the kpakpa or village medicine (in this sense, medicine being the sacred relics that ward off evil from the town). The kpakpa of Dimeh consists of three rocks, two crude wooden posts about two feet high, a potsherd, and a Dutch gin bottle, all placed in the ground by Moore's father when he founded the village about eighty years ago.

Near the kpakpa, at a tangent to the circle, is the clinic of Moore's older brother Boimah, a herbalist like their father. Unlike many of the "country doctors" in Liberia—the term "witch doctors" is not used—Boimah is on good terms with the modern physicians. He refers patients to them, and they reciprocate when they think his treatment may have more success, either for the medicinal value of his herbs or for psychological reasons. Beyond the clinic is the cottonwood tree that guards almost every Liberian village, and between the clinic and the entrance to the village circle is the palaver hut where meetings are held, cases are tried according to tribal law, and guests are welcomed.

When we got to the palaver hut, the village seemed empty: most of the people were out of sight, having dinner inside or behind their huts. Some of us had readied our palates for goat soup or chicken with rice and palm butter spiced with the searing hot West African pepper, but it was assumed that we were not hungry since we were temporary visitors, and foreigners at that. (If we had said we were hungry, we would have been fed royally.)

ON THE OCCASION of a feast, the villagers of Dimeh, as hosts, provide most of the food, while the cousins gathered from the far corners of Liberia and even from other countries fill in the gaps on the menu. During the feast we attended, two goats were slaughtered each morning with appropriate rites, and on the last day a cow was killed. This is high living for Liberian tribesmen. Cows cost about $140, while the per capita income of the country was then estimated at $128 a year.

The slaughtering of these animals was done at the kpakpa, which serves as a ceremonial center. According to custom, the kpakpa is not enclosed, but a non-customary consequence is that nowadays adults, children, and animals alike walk through the area. This disturbs Moore, who feels that Dimeh is not serious enough in its conservatism, and that the very reliance of tribal custom on oral tradition undermines the old ways. In a long poem on this subject, he wrote:

> Since very few remember now
> The final resting place
> Of the founders of the village,
> Scions of some permanent crops
> Or backyard vegetable gardens
> Now stand on someone's grave—
> A sign the strangers lack
> The knowledge of their owners.
> And I have yet to feel and see
> The same deep veneration
> The oldsters showed for objects
> Like the black stone
> In the drinking creek,
> Or kpakpa, village medicine
> Which kept all evil eyes away. . . .

The black stone is sacred to the spirits that control the harvest, and Moore's father used to leave food and first fruits there to bring Dimeh happiness and productivity. But the old way is not entirely dead. A few years before, a UNESCO expert decided that the site of the black stone was the only place to bridge the creek for a road to a village further in the bush. The villagers refused, insisting that the bridge would offend the water spirits. The expert told the man who was then chief, "Your sons will go to school, they will forget these things." The chief replied, "But I am here, and I remember these things." The bridge was not built.

After we had seen the stone, we returned to the village center for the main activity, group dancing and singing. Each dance group is called a play and consists of any number of people endlessly shuffling in an untidy but graceful column through the village, led by a singer and one or two drummers. The basic pattern is a simple two-step, with occasional jumps or extra syncopations—the same as the basic step of the High Life, the most popular dance in the cities of English-speaking West Africa.

Only one play was then in action—a play of girls who had gone through a special initiation into the second degree of the Sande society that morning. Dancing with the girls was a woman devil. "Devil" is the name given by Christian missionaries to bush-society dancers who wear masks and full-length raffia robes, and mix acrobatics in with their dancing. The woman devil at Dimeh had too much dignity for such agile nonsense, however.

Dignity remained the theme when this play stopped and Chief Vaani decided to make a speech. Vaani is head of the clan and Moore's full brother—"same ma, same pa," in the Liberian phrase. He addressed himself to his people, ostensibly without caring what the visitors heard, but I couldn't help suspecting that he intended us to be impressed by his brother's translation from Dey to English. The speech was a tribute to us for coming to help Liberia, and to President Tubman for bringing us, building the road and the nearby clinic, and generally instigating progress.

BY THE TIME the speech was over, the guests, having fulfilled their hosts' expectation of all that good international behavior requires, began to depart. But I wanted something more without being sure what it was, and so I didn't leave. Afterwards I tried to rationalize it on the basis that longer contact would give me more knowledge of the tribal mentality, which I needed in order to write pamphlets in support of Liberian education and extension programs. Still later, I learned that even missionaries who have lived in the bush for twenty years and speak the local languages fluently do not really understand how the tribal mind works.

But for whatever reason, I stayed and soon found myself in the palaver hut for more serious drinking. The variety of the beverages testified to Dimeh's two faces, modern and tribal. Palm wine, the traditional drink of juice gathered straight from the palm tree at the strategic moment of ripeness, had been brought the night before. The dancers were given cane juice—raw rum from the Liberian sugar cane—to keep them charged up. But when guests from

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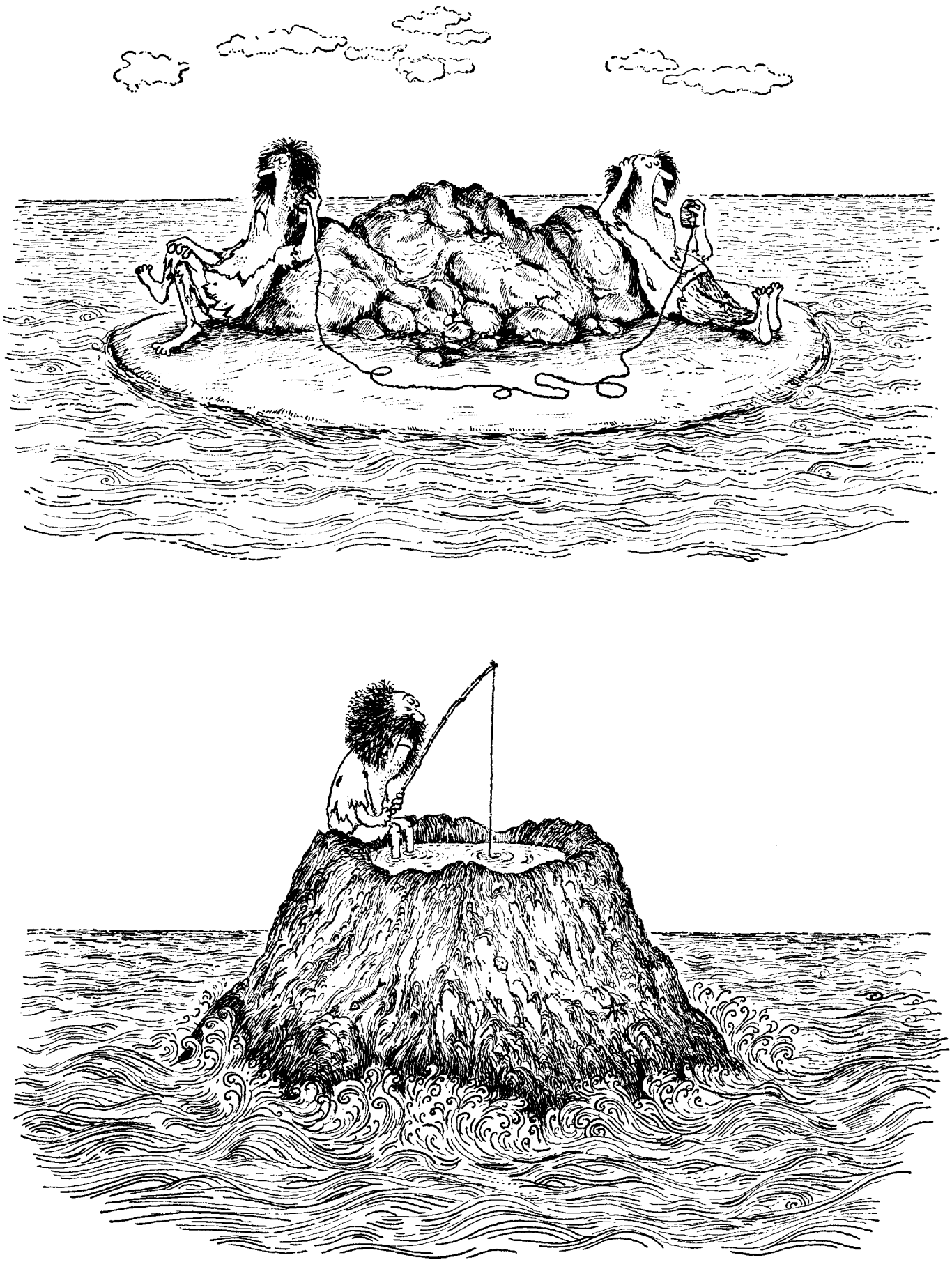

Islanders by Fernando Krahn

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the Monrovia class of honorables graced the feast with their presence for an hour, good Scotch was broken out. Later in the evening, when there was serious talk about friendship between the villagers and me, German beer was brought from the Dimeh shop to serve as cool water; traditionally, cool water is drunk as a pledge of peace, and a kola nut is broken and chewed by the participants. By the time I left, we had shifted to Coca-Cola and Fanta for simple thirst-quenching.

With the drinks came reminiscences. Moore spoke of how his father, a member of the aristocratic Vai tribe, had arrived in the Dey country as a refugee from a tribal war. The Deys said he could remain and found a village if he would take a Dey wife, which he did. As a herbalist, he commanded additional respect. Later, many Golas came as refugees from another war; Moore's father took them in and when they went back to their own country, in gratitude they left him the woman who became Moore's mother. This mixed heritage produced brother Vaani, the clan chief; brother Boimah, the herbalist and tribal elder; a sister who was chief of the Sande society; and, of course, Moore himself, the educated man.

From village history Moore shifted to his interest in other old things, like his father's songs. Tribal songs are almost always topical, whether recording traditional epics, recent historical events like the roadbuilding and the opening of the iron mine for which the road was built, or the realities of village life and culture. One song Moore translated for me goes: "Pepper hurts, and to have hydrocele is embarrassing. So when a man with hydrocele eats pepper, it is really embarrassing—it hurts twice." Another, sung indoors to a dance more slapstick than the village plays, asked who had the biggest breasts, the biggest buttocks, and so on. The answers were changed with each singing to fit those present.

AT DUSK, the plays became more active, and four or five groups were going at once. More women joined a group led by a woman, and more men a play conducted by a man, but there was no clear line drawn. Nor was there much partnering between boys and girls, or much display of masculine or feminine accomplishments in war, food-gathering, housekeeping, and sex such as characterizes bush-society dances. Moore and I joined the plays, and the villagers took this as a gesture of friendship. I was wearing a shirt made of Liberian country cloth, coarse cotton woven in blue and white stripes, and Moore laughed when some of the older people pointed to me and commented. He told me later they were calling me handsome—because of my shirt.

Whether it was the shirt or my joining in the dance or some more subtle realization of my wanting to bridge the "culture gap," the villagers elaborated a further welcome.

Mano Freeman, a cousin of Moore's from another Dey village, delivered an oration to the people of Dimeh about the importance of friendship between white and black, the importance of having friends as well as blood relatives. He paid extended tribute to Moore for bringing the white men to Dimeh and then turned to me. "You are our friend," he said. "We will take care of you. We will watch out for you. If you take an egg and put it on the edge of the road here at Dimeh and say it is your egg, no Dey man will touch it and no car driven by a Dey will drive over it, because you are our brother."

Then Moore took me to his sister's house, where beer took the place of cool water. "You must treat this man as a Dey man even when I am not here," he told his family. To Boimah the herbalist, perhaps more skeptical than the others of real friendship with a foreigner, he said, "This is the one man you can trust." To Vaani the chief, who had been in my house in Monrovia, he said, "You have seen how this man's wife treats me as a brother. You must treat him the same way."

Moore told me later that the people believed him and were accepting my interest in them. Yet it never seemed more than a formal gesture to me, despite the informality of my later visits. When I saw the people again, their greetings were friendly, but if Moore was not there to translate and encourage the idea of brotherhood, there was no feeling of closeness—except perhaps with Vaani's nine-year-old son Zinneh, who knew a few words of English and always took my hand.

I am sure that the only way to build on the closeness implicit in

One Sort of Intimations Ode

This is the day the family car
Goes to the shop. The tailpipe rattles;
You are assured the queasiness
That comes upon you every morning
Is nothing more than death in a dose
Discreet enough to be endured.
You smile; you think of the Pontic king.
Walking to work you read odd pleasure
In your breath clouding the gold autumn.
You think: A good day for possessions.

By evening you find out the truth;
Expensive trouble—fumes and poisons
Some crabbed apothecary could mimic—
Hoses ruptured, rings cracked, walls scored.
Self-possessed, tamping a cigarette,
You listen to the foreman tell you
How three thousand-odd pounds of steel
Have been wasting under your hands.
You walk home; you catch yourself breathing;
It is marvelous and suspicious.

—ROBLEY WILSON, JR.

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the orations at the Dimeh feast would have been to work in the village. But the Agency for International Development must limit its efforts to certain areas in any country, and Dimeh was neither in Monrovia nor in the areas of rural population concentration where most of our projects were. Even if it had been, its ambivalence about modernizing would probably have caused its rejection or deferral until more responsive districts had been taken care of.

Yet it was in Dimeh, where the black stone is sometimes too powerful for progress, that I first learned that modernization cannot succeed by ignoring tribal traditions. I learned this lesson again and again in Ethiopia and Nigeria. The modernizers must work with tribal traditions until they are replaced one by one with modern values, and you cannot choose the particular values you might like.

Even lipstick and the transistor radio can help, though some modernizers disdain them. For instance, Moore found that we could not persuade his people to wear sandals to prevent hookworm—but later the girls began to wear sandals because it was stylish, the kind of modernism that they wanted. Thus hookworm was reduced.

VAANI'S SPEECH, partly politically inspired, expressed Dimeh's recognition of President Tubman's drive for progress. But the cool water, the kola nut, the country shirt, the white man in the dance, all expressed the fact that Dimeh could welcome progress and its representatives only in terms the village recognized as its own.

Bai T. Moore learned this the hard way. The village was proud of him as its foremost son. But he could not make the people build a school, and when he tried to put one in the village years before, while working for the government's literacy program, it had failed. He just waited, and when Vaani and the people had come to recognize the need, Moore was ready with plans and books and a teacher. Before that, if a teacher had come and put an egg on the edge of the road, some hungry man would have eaten it.

Harlem Sounds

NAT HENTOFF

ONLY OUTPOSTS of jazz are left in Harlem, and they are few. Most of the jazz action in New York has long since moved to Midtown and Downtown. You can no longer take the "A" train to find out about jazz, and that part of Harlem life, for now anyway, is limited to remembrances of nights past. The disparity between the rhythm and blues and organ-saxophone combos currently prevalent in Harlem and the much more variegated groups of the past is made vivid by the recent release of a three-volume Columbia Records survey of Harlem jazz from 1920 to 1942. (*Jazz Odyssey, Volume III: The Sound of Harlem*, three twelve-inch LPs, Columbia C3L-33, $11.98.)

Not all of the forty-eight performances in this generous assortment have aged well, but the majority of the selections do indicate basic trends in Harlem jazz at its height. There was the change, for example, in Harlem combos and orchestras from a rather stiff ensemble drive to the more relaxed, more blues-inflected jazz of the late 1920's and the 1930's. In part, that change was due to the volcanic effect of Louis Armstrong's arrival in New York in 1924 to play with the Fletcher Henderson band. Armstrong brought the deep blues of the South and his own liberating virtuosity to a Northern Negro tradition in which discipline had been more important than spontaneity.

The Sound of Harlem also documents the shift in the direction of jazz singing. The rough, bedrock blues of Bessie Smith was succeeded by the more supple, sophisticated storytelling of Ethel Waters, and she in turn led to the tart poignancy of Billie Holiday, who was more attuned to the increasing subtleties of the instrumentalists accompanying her as she transmuted popular songs into jazz.

During those two decades, jazz and dancing were still part of the same experience, and the Columbia set conjures up memories of Harlem ballrooms and the bands of Claude Hopkins, Chick Webb, and Erskine Hawkins. The album is extensively annotated. A nostalgic bonus is a long descriptive list with pictures of Harlem locations where jazz has been played since 1920 and of such other landmarks as the Tree of Hope at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 131st Street, which gamblers on the way to a game and musicians going to auditions used to touch for luck.

One band not included in the Columbia survey is Al Cooper's Savoy Sultans. By the late 1930's the Sultans were entrenched as the house unit for the Savoy Ballroom—the ultimate testing ground of jazz orchestras during the swing era. If the Savoy dancers did not respond to a band, no amount of success Downtown could restore its morale. Most visiting orchestras were reluctant to follow the Savoy Sultans on stand. Although the Sultans' arrangements were not particularly original and although the soloists could be challenged man for man by sidemen in other bands, the group as a whole was superb. As the critic Stanley Dance observes in the notes for the first LP reissue of the Savoy Sultans (*Jumpin' at the Savoy*, Decca DL 4444, $3.98), "They pared away everything that stood in the way of swinging." As an illustration of the pulsing core of Harlem dancing jazz, this set is invaluable.

THERE HAVE BEEN many attempts to explain the gradual exodus of jazz from Harlem during the past twenty years. Some of the audience may have defected as the music became more complex and less functional. By the 1950's, few jazz units still played for dancing. Moreover, many listeners who were not primarily attracted to jazz for dancing may have been cut off from jazz by economic reasons. As the white audience grew, there was more money to be made outside Harlem. Count Basie, for instance, owns a lounge Uptown, but his band rarely plays in Harlem any more. In the early 1940's Harlem after-hours clubs did

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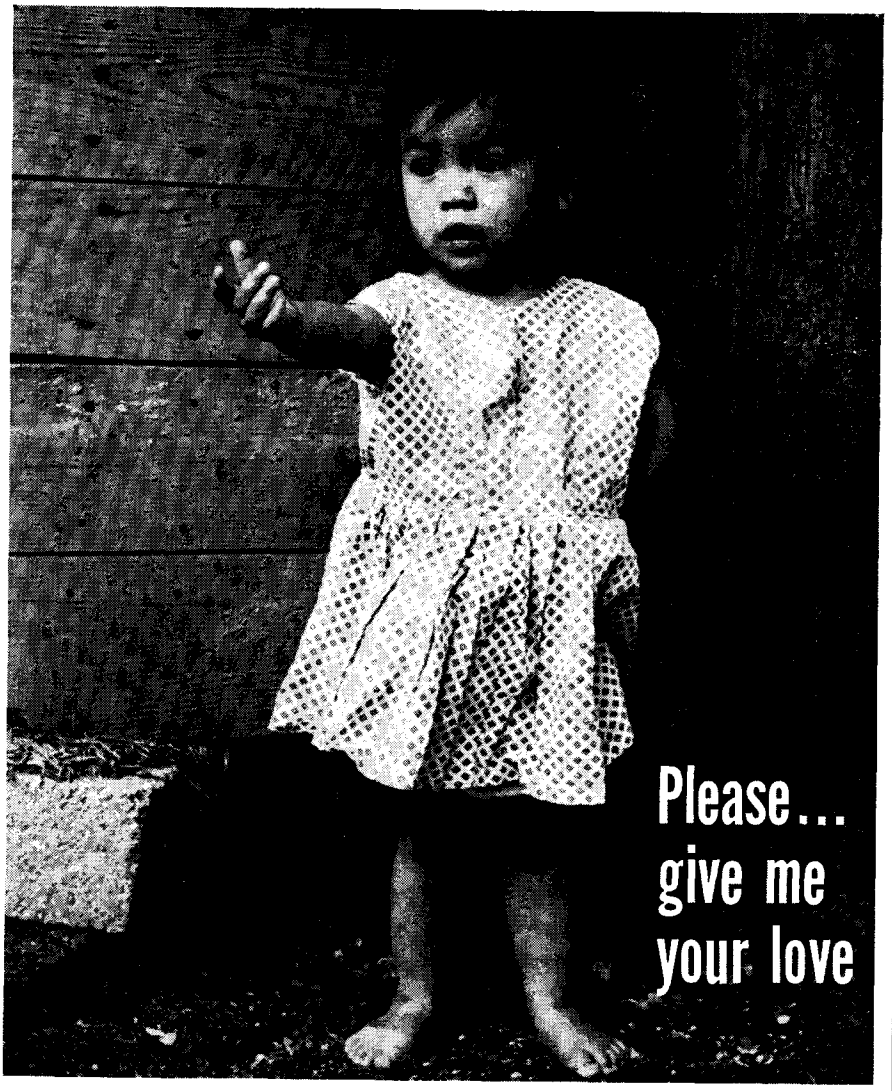

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serve as refuges for the new modernists who were not accepted elsewhere. Eventually, however, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, and their colleagues found better-paying jobs outside Harlem, and they seldom returned. Also, the union scale in Harlem clubs continues to be generally lower than in most other parts of the city.

THIS is not to say that there has been a recent musical vacuum in Harlem. That form of popular music known as rhythm and blues still flourishes Uptown, as can be heard in *Apollo Saturday Night* (Atco 33-159, $3.98). This is a recording of a characteristic bill at the Apollo Theatre on 125th Street, one of the few theatres in the country that still present live entertainment every week. The music represented here by such performers as the Falcons, Rufus Thomas, and Doris Troy has much more vitality and immediacy than much of the rock 'n' roll (a diluted form of rhythm and blues) propelled by most of the nation's disc jockeys. The Apollo recording includes ballads, but they are sung with the rhythmic pull and the vocal colorations of gospel music. There are also up-tempo swingers and the Coasters, a vocal unit expert in the cool, sardonic empiricism of the street-wise Harlem youngster. But these performances, vivid as they are, are not jazz.

In the past year a modest but hopeful effort has been undertaken to reverse the trend. Part of HARYOU-ACT, a massive attempt to stimulate the youth of central Harlem to discover and make fuller use of their own capacities, is an arts and culture program. The program's director is a jazz bassist, Julian Euell, who has organized an eighteen-piece jazz band of Harlem youngsters. More units, large and small, are to follow. Other established jazzmen serve as consultants, and the response from the young people has been enthusiastic. The band members and their audiences are both apparently beginning to feel that jazz is once again part of their lives, part of their community. "I think," Euell has said, "that we can bring jazz back to Harlem, and maybe we can do it in a more meaningful way than ever before."

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The Star Turn

GERALD WEALES

"I DON'T THINK of myself as a star," Zero Mostel told a New York *Times* reporter. "I hate all this star junk." By the time the interview got into print (Sunday, October 4), *Fiddler on the Roof* had opened at the Imperial Theatre and New York had its newest hit musical. It was the star that got the rave reviews. Mostel took his place among a group of musical-comedy performers—Carol Channing, Beatrice Lillie, Carol Burnett, Barbra Streisand—who have spent the year carrying indifferent shows on their popular shoulders. But any historian of American musical comedy will tell you that such a thing is impossible (like Vermont going Democratic), that musical comedies are no longer made that way.

In the 1920's, when the musical stage belonged to the performers, a string of star-carried shows would have been taken for granted. In those days, musicals were not so much written as put together, jerry-built around a popular comedian, a famous singer, a lead dancer. To piece out the evening, supporting performers were signed who had followings of their own and specialties that never conflicted with the star turns. Songwriters—even those with names like Gershwin, Berlin, or Porter—tailored tunes to fit personalities. Carpenters like P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton were asked to tack together a plot of sorts, a scaffolding on which to hang the specialty numbers. Oscar Hammerstein II once said of *Sunny*, a Marilyn Miller vehicle he wrote with Jerome Kern and Otto Harbach, "Our job was to tell a story with a cast that had been assembled as if for a revue." Even in operetta, the romantic action was constantly interrupted for a comic bit, a song, a dance that had nothing to do with plot or character.

Much the same pattern prevailed through the 1930's, although some musical comedies, particularly those with a social conscience, began to be more of a piece. It was not until March 31, 1943, when *Oklahoma!* opened at the St. James Theatre, that the American musical comedy underwent the transformation that turned it—for a while—into the American musical theatre. The success of *Oklahoma!*, which was a surprise to everyone, including the Theatre Guild, which produced it, started the vogue for what is now called the "integrated musical." In retrospect, *Oklahoma!* seems almost as loosely put together as *Show Boat*, but its main dance number did contribute to the plot and there was a hint of characterization in some of the songs ("I Cain't Say No"). In any case, it suggested what might be done if book, score, and choreography were really made to work as contributing elements in a show that was unified in intention and tone. Lines were no longer to be simply song cues; dances were not to be show-stoppers but plot-movers; songs were to come from the characters, not the performers; and, most important, the performers were asked not to be themselves but someone else.

Only a handful of shows—*West*

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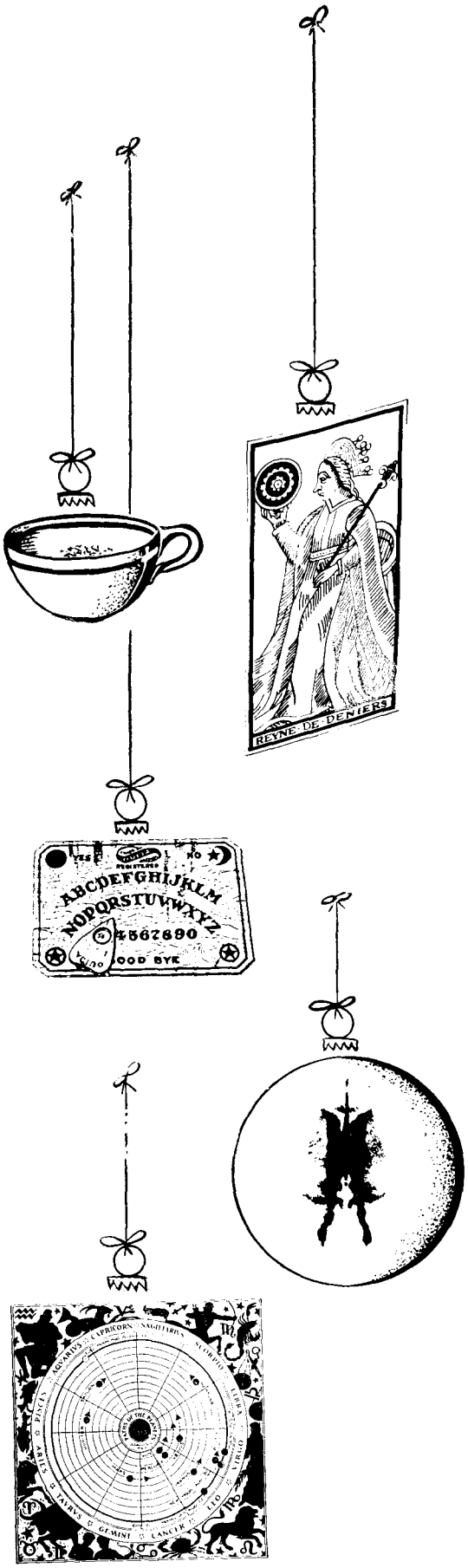

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Side Story and *My Fair Lady,* for example—fulfilled the promise made at the St. James in 1943, but the late 1940's and the 1950's were years in which the musical comedy struggled with itself, uncertain whether it was to be an art form or a vehicle. In this struggle the confirmed theatregoer had difficulty declaring his allegiance, for he found justice on both sides. There is a deep pleasure in watching a musical like *Candide,* where all the elements join beautifully; there is another kind of delight in watching a performer with a strong personality—Bert Lahr, say, or Nancy Walker—displaying the style and technique that he has spent years building, even when the style is wrong for a particular scene and the technique explodes rather than exploits the material. Only rarely can a performer with a strong style find a character into which he fits comfortably—Ethel Merman in *Gypsy* was a happy example.

IN THE LAST few years, the struggle seems to have ended. There have been no real contenders for art-form honors since *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* opened in 1961. Respect is still paid to the integrated musical—particularly in a show like *Fiddler on the Roof*—but this is really the year of the star. *Hello, Dolly!* gives us the deification of Carol Channing. The show is charmingly costumed and briskly paced, but there is really very little to it. Jerry Herman's score has only the title song to recommend it. Michael Stewart's book retains enough of Thornton Wilder's *The Matchmaker* to remind us that he has failed to take advantage of either Wilder's intricate plotting or his set farce pieces. Gower Champion's dances are energetic and cute, descriptive terms that I do not intend as compliments. In featured roles, David Burns, Eileen Brennan, and Charles Nelson Reilly, all of whom have performed extremely well on other occasions, fail to create characters or to be themselves.

It is Carol Channing's show. Audiences go to see her, to love her, to applaud her, and she can do no wrong, even when what she does *is* wrong. Miss Channing is a genuinely funny comedienne, a very talented parodist, who has been trapped by her most famous role. Her Dolly Levi is really another variation on that pop-eyed blonde gentlemen preferred fifteen years ago when Miss Channing first played Lorelei Lee. In *Hello, Dolly!,* we get again the saucer eyes, the big mouth lipstick-lined into prominence, the roller-coaster voice which drops from falsetto surprise to a baritone matter-of-factness, the touch of gravel in the songs. There is a new mannerism, which, one assumes, we are supposed to take as characteristic of Dolly Levi. Whatever the occasion, Miss Channing runs her tongue around her teeth, as though she were trying to get the best out of them, sending a prominent bulge skipping about just inside the lips and cheeks. Every time she does it, she gets a laugh. Stewart has kept in the musical one of Dolly's asides to the audience, a somewhat sentimental speech that Ruth Gordon (in the original) made both touching and in character. Miss Channing projects it in the excessive articulation that is characteristic of her, and there are uncertain titters when the concept of "our Carol" is in conflict with what the lines are saying. It does not matter that she never becomes Dolly Levi, for the audience has come only for the big scene, the singing of "Hello, Dolly!" In that number, which has a long encore, she parades along the apron-stage runway, blowing kisses and waving, beaming and nodding, reaching out to embrace the multitude. When the show first opened, this routine may not have been so preposterous, but when I saw it—after almost ten months of triumph—it had become a ludicrous ritual. Miss Channing used to do a very funny take-off on Judy Garland at the Palace, crying with her audience; in *Hello, Dolly!,* she seems to be playing the joke straight. The image of the American musical in 1964 is Carol Channing, standing arms outstretched, amid the ruins of *Hello, Dolly!,* being cheered to the rafters.

NONE OF THE other shows offers a moment quite like this, but in all of them there is something going on between the audience and the star that makes the show itself a little irrelevant. Take Zero Mostel, for example. There is a secret pact be-

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tween his Tevye and the audience from which the other characters on stage are excluded. It grows out of three devices: Tevye's direct address to the audience, his conversations with God, and his continuous mumbled dispute with himself. As the show progresses, it becomes clear that Mostel has built his Tevye out of a few mannerisms—an elaborate rolling of the eyes, a shrug that is almost a benediction, a rhythmic opening and closing of the hands. These verbal and physical tricks might seem to be suitable to Tevye. Since he is the garrulous narrator of the Sholem Aleichem stories of which he is also the hero, he might be expected to take an audience into his confidence. Since he is constantly beset by forces he cannot beat, a roll of the eyes and a shrug might indicate the quality of ironic acceptance that characterizes him—a giving in which refused to give in. But the devices are never really Tevye's. They remain Mostel's, and they push the rest of the show into the background.

This is not because Mostel is incapable of creating a character (he did very well by Bloom in *Ulysses in Nighttown*) but because Tevye never takes form in *Fiddler on the Roof*. Joseph Stein, who wrote the book, has made a tightly plotted, good-hearted message play out of the Aleichem stories, but the action is outside of Tevye. As a result, the musical has a conventional plot that must constantly be interrupted to put Tevye center stage, to let him play a scene alone or with one other character, scenes that are usually comments and not part of the action. When this happens, we have Mostel doing a single or being top banana in a double. A comparison between two solos will indicate what I mean. Austin Pendleton, who plays Motel, the Tailor, sings "Miracle of Miracles," in which he celebrates the winning of Tevye's daughter. The number has great charm, but the charm is Motel's rather than Pendleton's; the exuberance grows out of the character and the situation. Tevye sings "If I Were a Rich Man," a quietly joyful number, rippled with chuckles and burbles and rumbles. But the bubbling is not Tevye's; it is Zero Mostel's. The audience knows this and applauds

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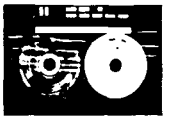

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happily. The star dominates *Fiddler on the Roof.*

THE OTHER musicals under discussion here have a great deal less to offer as shows than *Fiddler* does. *High Spirits* is a musical mutilation of Noël Coward's *Blithe Spirit* to which the original author has given his blessing by serving as director. It is crisp and lively when one of the Coward scenes is being played straight, but the music is dull and commonplace; the songs detract from the show because they necessitate the removal of some of Coward's dialogue. Yet the show has been running almost as long as *Hello, Dolly!* The reason, presumably, is Beatrice Lillie. Miss Lillie shares star billing with two other performers—Tammy Grimes and Edward Woodward. They, like the rest of the cast, perform well, but they are never really on stage in the way that Beatrice Lillie is. Admirers of Tammy Grimes might protest my saying this, since she is—potentially, at least—the kind of personality this article is about, but, as *Look After Lulu* proved a few years ago, she is not yet ready to carry a show by herself. In *High Spirits* she has nothing much to do but fly around on a wire and let her funny, croaking voice make its way through the most conventional kind of love song. Miss Lillie, on the other hand, has the chance to be Beatrice Lillie. As Madame Arcati, she can build on the incongruity that has always been the heart of her comedy, the excessive gentility encased in grossness—Lady Peel in G.I. shoes. She has only five numbers, three of which are smothered by the dancing ensemble. One song lets us see her on a bicycle, and in another—the high point of the show—she sings to her ouija board. That is all there is; for eight months it has been enough.

However they turn out, *Hello, Dolly!*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, and *High Spirits* deal with material that implies that they were meant to be more than the occasion for star turns. That cannot be said for *Funny Girl* and *Fade Out—Fade In*, both blatantly vehicles and nothing more. Jule Styne has written undistinguished scores for both shows, songs that suggest earlier periods (Broadway in the Ziegfeld era, Hollywood in the 1930's) without the wit of *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* or the satiric bite of *Gypsy*. In *Funny Girl*, Isobel Lennart has written a book that reduces Fanny Brice to a stock figure in a backstage romance—the star who must sacrifice "personal happiness," as the columnists say, to her career. This standard imbecility is beside the point, of course, for the show is only an excuse to let Barbra Streisand, certainly the most remarkable young performer to come along in the last few years, hold the stage. Whether she sings funny or sings sad, her chief vocal mannerism, the joyful cry with the sob under the edge of it, is commanding. She has what the publicity boys call "star quality," a hypnotic presence on stage. Since her co-star is Sydney Chaplin, everyone's favorite nonentity, *Funny Girl* is only Barbra Streisand, and it has been going strong for eight months.

Fade Out—Fade In lasted for more than half a year, but it was Carol Burnett who pulled in the audiences. A good low comedienne with a vast television following, Miss Burnett had been looking for a Broadway show for several years. Someone decided that Hollywood in the 1930's was the setting needed, and Betty Comden and Adolph Green, two clever writers who should be ashamed of themselves, came up with a pastiche of stock situations, old jokes, and period references. Despite this handicap, Miss Burnett managed to be funny most of the time because her main comic mannerism, an embarrassment that forces her into increasingly gross physical ineptness, can exist on props alone. Her one sustained number—her horrifyingly accurate imitation of Shirley Temple—was hardly enough to make a musical comedy. Yet Miss Burnett's presence made a Broadway success out of practically nothing, or at least it did until mid-October, when she withdrew and the show soon folded.

In all five of these musicals the performer has become more important than the song he sings, the lines he reads, the character he plays. Even an admirer of Carol Channing, Zero Mostel, Beatrice Lillie, Barbra Streisand, and Carol Burnett might consider tempering his applause with regret.

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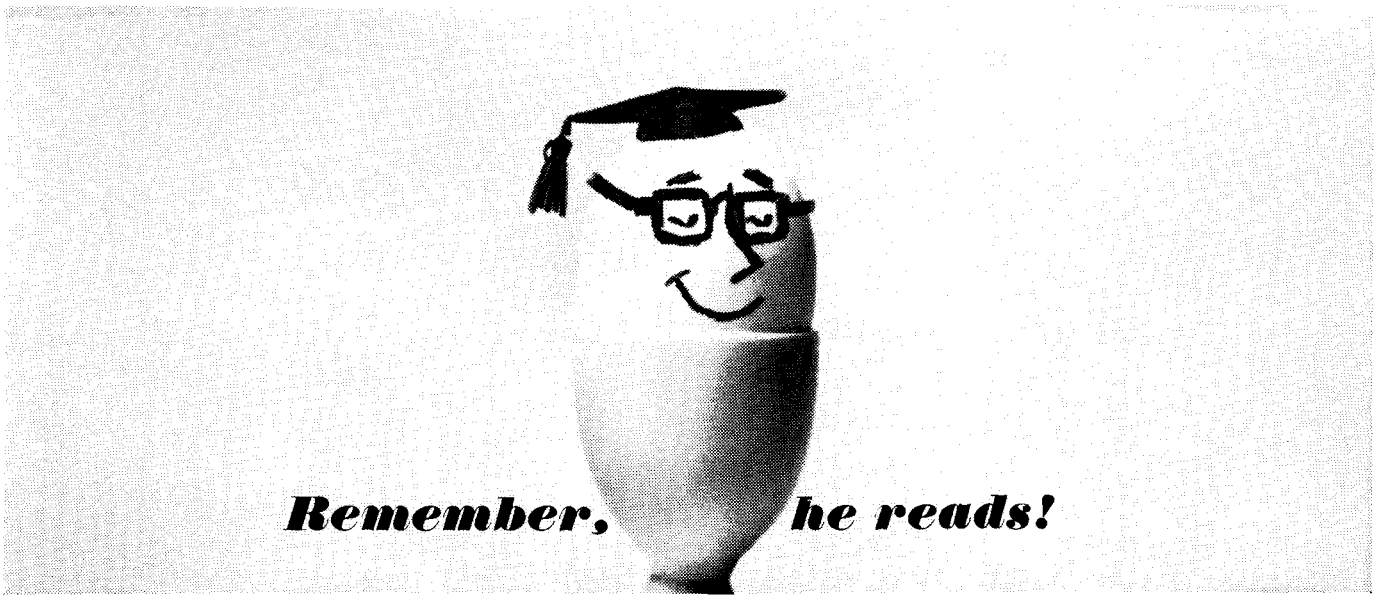

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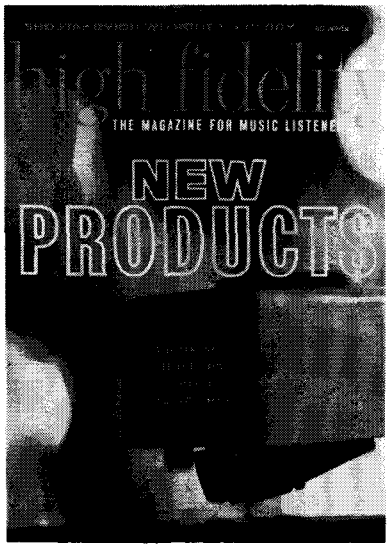

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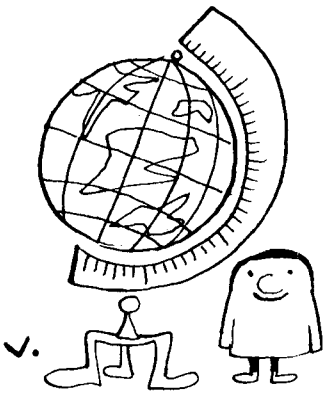
Kenneth Boulding has courage. Consider simply the title of his book: *the* meaning of the twentieth century. But in a mere 199 pages, Boulding not only confronts his subject audaciously; he shows an admirable courage in the face of the meaning he discovers. "It is this race between learning and disaster," he writes, "which makes the present age so exciting." Fully conscious of the swirling changes that threaten to suck us down, he refuses to despair. He finds exhilaration instead.

For Boulding, the meaning of the twentieth century lies in the fact that the explosion in man's knowledge, both of the outward physical world and the inward human world, represents a "great transition," one as great as the agricultural revolution that marked the beginning of civilization itself, one so great that Boulding chooses to name the world we are entering "postcivilization." More and greater change has taken place in the lifetime of an adult today, Boulding argues, than in all the thousands of years before. All the signs are that the rate of change is still speeding up. Although technology, the application of scientific change to the manipulation of the physical universe, is deeply involved, the great transition means much more. It means a basic change from the social organization of the world we have fondly liked to call civilized, and radical change in the cluster of values that define the meaning of being human. We stand on the edge of a new world yet to be defined. It may be a world of unspeakable tyranny and corruption, or it may be a world of freedom and self-delight. Man has the power to make either. The race is whether he can summon the courage and the intelligence to use that power for good.

The motor that is propelling us into this uncharted world of change is, simply, knowledge. But the simplicity of that statement hides a terrible fatality. Once man has bitten that particular apple, nothing can undo the consequence. Knowledge is a motor with no reverse setting. The development of the culture of science, which Boulding sees as the "basis" of the great transformation, is the critical case in point. From the crude empiricism of observation, science has developed a system of rational conjecture and empirical, objective verification, a system in Boulding's words of "deliberately acquired information and deliberately provoked disappointments," which by its procedures becomes self-sustaining and irreversible. The result we live with: an awful power. Yet the bomb is just the beginning. Master of the atom, man is now on the threshold of mastering the sources of life in a biological



revolution as great as the revolution in physics. In the dimmer but inevitable future, the scientific method must extend itself to man's "image of himself and of the society which he created and in which he as an individual is embedded."

Before Boulding assesses whether, on balance, we have reason to hope or fear the application of rational and controlled intelligence to every dimension of the world of man, he points to three "traps" into which man may fall, traps that could end the story before man has his fleeting

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chance to write a happy ending: the war trap, the population trap, the entropy trap. Modern man may well damn himself by his very gift of knowledge. Laying his hands, gigantically extended by the marvels of technology, on the very stuff of the universe, he plays with a power that can obliterate him. Controlling the blind fatality of nature, he has reduced infant mortality and prolonged life only to accelerate, unwittingly, a burst in population that threatens to plunge into misery the life he somehow wishes to preserve. Exploiting nature to enrich the conditions of life, he has used natural resources at so unnatural a rate that he may well exhaust the energy of the physical world and arrive only at a gray waste of living death.

Boulding surveys these traps, sees them for what they are, but concludes with optimism—sober and cautious, but still optimism. He does not believe that the option of rejecting the new world of scientific rationalism and technical innovation is a live option; at least for those less developed societies that might still exercise it, the alternative is a numbing and dehumanizing poverty. More dangerous for Boulding is the attitude of "grudging acceptance," in which society chooses to enjoy the material advantages without being willing to pay the social cost, or the blind, uncritical celebration of change where the human costs may prove extravagantly high. The only attitude he leaves us with is his own—"critical acceptance." Boulding believes that if there is to be any order at all in the world now in the process of becoming, man must make it. No miracle will save him; man must save himself. If he is to make order, if he is to win the race against disaster, man must stake his all on the very power that brought him to such a desperate position in the first place, his own intelligence.

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deserves one, if only for its negation of the usual strategies of evasion: the nostalgia for a simpler past, the mindless faith that the troubles of our time will somehow take care of themselves, the pious trust that some transcendent power is somewhere in charge, or the muscular, Luddite anti-intellectualism of our time. None of these will do.

Yet, having said so, one fearfully wonders whether Boulding's tempered courage will do, either. Take the war trap. Boulding describes lucidly and rationally the instability of a temporary peace based on increasing armament, the escalating world of balanced terror we live in. He recognizes that when Nation A and Nation B are unarmed and at equilibrium, if either decides to be aggressive there will have to be some third force to make the one that decides, for short-run advantage, to upset the equilibrium to return to the initial state rather than permit a fatal escalation to begin. The rational fallacy shows itself nakedly here. We are, at the moment, not dealing with Nation A and Nation B; we are dealing with the United States and Russia. The decision to seek an ultimate and unchallengeable superiority in force does not derive from a practical calculation about advantage; it derives from an untestable fear of disadvantage. But let us, with all the optimism we can summon, presume a third force, a United Nations with a striking force of its own under its own jurisdiction, and the trouble only deepens. So long as that third force has only one task, to prevent increasing armament and the outbreak of war—in other words, to keep the peace—the calculation is simple, no matter how enormous the logistics to enforce that calculation may become. But if the purpose of that third force is not simply to keep the peace but to enforce justice, then we are in desperate trouble. We are in trouble that Boulding only grudgingly recognizes.

So long as we are agreed upon the ends, so long as we share the same value system, we can, like most Americans, spend our energies in a pragmatic quarrel about the means to achieve those ends. But when the ends are different, then power intervenes, whether by Nation A or Nation B or by Power X, to maintain one set of ends rather than the other—unless we can wish ourselves back into pre-civilization before it all began.

But it has begun. Whether we can share Kenneth Boulding's exhilaration or his critical acceptance of the world man has made, we have to agree, as Henry Adams observed many years ago, that the mind of man has to jump. And it has to jump fast.

Living With a Legend

JAY JACOBS

LIFE WITH PICASSO, by Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake. *McGraw-Hill. $6.95. Illustrated.*

Françoise Gilot, a moderately successful painter in her own right, met Picasso at the outset of her career, when she was twenty-one and he three times her age. The difference meant nothing to her at the time, but old age is as much as anything else an incapacity for further growth, and it wasn't until ten years of cohabitation had gone by and she had borne him two children that Mlle. Gilot "suddenly came face to face with the fact that he was now over seventy years old . . . [and] had no greater capacity for self-government than an inexperienced boy. . . ." After a good deal of soul-searching, she left the house they were sharing at Vallauris, with Picasso's farewell cry of *"Merde!"* ringing in her ears.

Life with Picasso is several books in one, of which the life *of* Picasso—or at least that part of it not directly concerned with art—is the least interesting and least illuminating. Unfortunately, it is the one that will probably hold the attention of many readers who already are far more familiar with Picasso's myth than his work—and who will sop their consciences with the notion that whatever titillation may be derived from an account of an old man's seduction techniques will somehow enhance their understanding of "Guernica" or "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon." These readers will find a man of immense

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 114

by HENRY ALLEN

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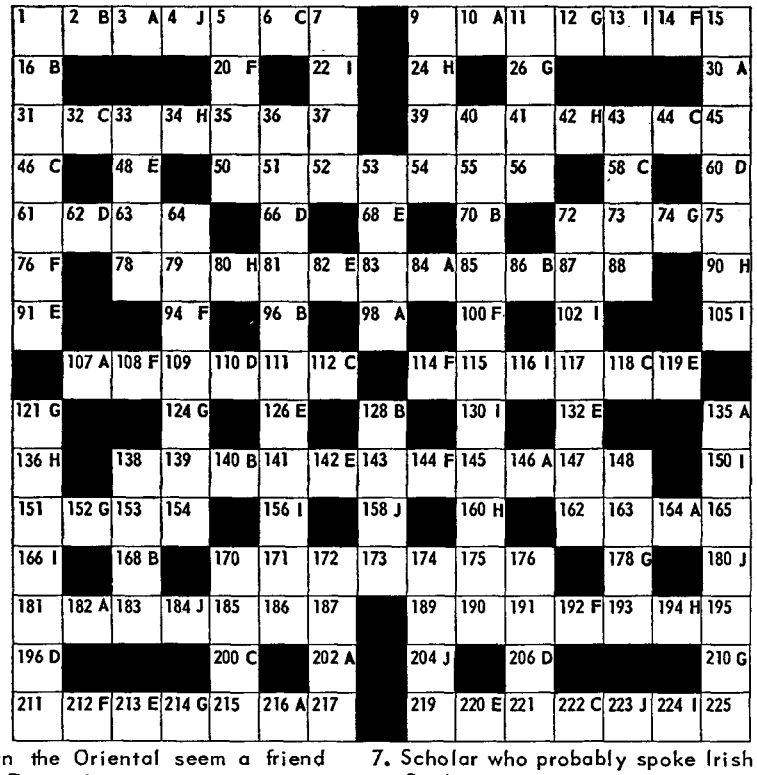
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
3 30 182 107 10 202 164 98 84 146 216 135 Very hot (with a poetic adjective used to describe wisdom in Mother Goose.) (8,4).

B
2 70 128 86 16 140 96 168 Built up to a uniformity of surface, as a river bed.

C
58 44 200 112 118 222 46 32 6 A Scottish noblewoman whose home is now an historic museum in Edinburgh.

D
60 66 110 62 196 206 "Night with her _____ of stars
And her great gift of sleep."
W.E. Henley, "Margaritae Sororis."

E
68 48 119 142 91 82 126 220 132 213 Those nonconformists who separate from the established church.

F
14 76 94 108 144 114 100 212 192 20 Unlawfulness.

G
74 121 124 210 214 178 152 12 26 Sever the connection (6,3).

H
90 194 80 136 34 42 160 24 "No fruits, no flowers, no leaves, no birds,—_____." Thomas Hood, "No!"

I
22 13 102 150 116 105 166 130 224 156 Where the toil may be found (6,4).

J
4 180 158 223 204 184 "My days are in the _____leaf." Byron, "On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year."

ACROSS

1. Court persons who wear sly changes (in costume?).
9. If craft changed, then this transportation headache might abate.
31. Can the Oriental seem a friend to France?
39. A Bachelor of Arts in Persia is a native of Mecca, perhaps.
50. Carpers have the same rasping effect as a tool.
61. I'm in the pound, both arm and leg.
72. In any vessel, secured or otherwise.
78. Part of the title of one of the Acrostician's most famous works (5,6).
107. Dean Swift's friend who married Mary Granville as known in Delaware, Louisiana, and New York.
114. A symbol that may be opposite.
138. Again point out the design in a tree.
151. Stentorian, but may indicate bad taste as well.
162. The surface of a liquid that encumbers without beer 'n' skittles.
170. Modifying a number such as two on the ark; find it in a meat (2,1,4).
181. Somehow random wisdom.
189. An animal swallows art and produces a satirical drawing.
211. See the sea bird on the platter.
219. Irritates the thistle-like plants.

DOWN

1. The drawing room left by a great French explorer (2,5).
5. Do they have pupils with vision? Hear the assents.
7. Scholar who probably spoke Irish Gaelic.
9. Catch a rat as part of the job.
11. A Royal Air Force designation way out yonder.
15. Please with peace of mind but not a cent.
33. Points to certain goals.
36. Sort trials and movie tryouts (6,5).
40. Play house for monarchs only? (5,6).
43. Dissatisfactions at the broken entrance.
53. Sums as the clergyman makes them.
64. I misrepresented? No—just got swollen.
72. Set for loud attempts.
121. It by-passes Niagara and is in good health.
128. You hear what the sinner confesses about surface gold.
135. Passages of time that affect most men.
138. This man's wit may seem dry to you.
148. He and a small company sound reflected.
170. A die is cast by the military assistant.
172. It takes an infinite number of 135 down to make this (alt. sp.).
174. The image on the coin is probably an Orthodox one.
176. Formerly a long time ago and once the rest.

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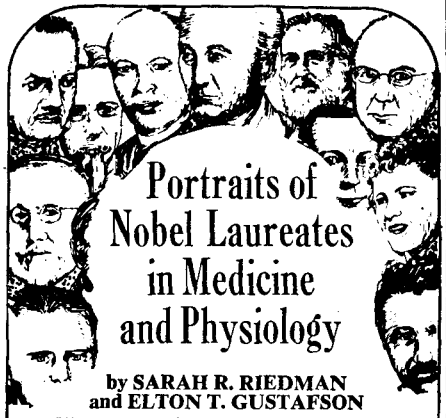

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charm, wit, and intelligence—and an immensely vain, petulant, vindictive, bullying, sadistic, miserly, superstitious, whining wretch awash in self-pity and insecurity and given to ungovernable tantrums, the meanest sort of gossip, the pettiest forms of one-upmanship, and paralyzing bouts of lethargy and indecision.

However distasteful all this may be, it provides a necessary if noisy obbligato to the book's central theme, which concerns Mlle. Gilot's gradual awakening to her real responsibilities in circumstances that might have led a woman of flimsier moral and intellectual fiber to follow a disastrous course of least resistance. "At the time I went to live with Pablo," Mlle. Gilot recalls, "I had felt that he was a person to whom I could, and should, devote myself entirely, but from whom I should expect to receive nothing beyond what he had given the world by means of his art." But of a period some ten years later she writes: "I saw that even though they [painters and writers of her own generation] weren't widely known, most of them, they had sent off arrows into the future, and the efforts they were making gave real meaning to their lives. All that seemed much closer to me than the routine of someone who had arrived at the summit of life without me and for whom I existed as a physical form and a useful object but not a genuine necessity. So I began to tell Pablo that if I was leaving him, it was in order to live with my own generation and the problems of my time."

Picasso, who was then paying court to several other ladies and who had already dispelled any illusions Mlle. Gilot might have harbored about her existence, for him, as a physical form ("You were a Venus when I met you. . . . Now you're a Christ—and a Romanesque Christ at that . . . "), replied characteristically: "You imagine people will be interested in *you?* They won't ever, really, just for yourself. Even if you think people like you, it will only be a kind of curiosity they will have about a person whose life has touched mine so intimately. And you'll be left with only the taste of ashes in your mouth. For you, reality is finished; it ends right here. If you attempt to take a step outside my reality—which has become yours, inasmuch as I found you when you were young and unformed and I burned everything around you—you're headed straight for the desert. And if you go, that's exactly what I wish for you." To ensure the rightness of his prophecy, Picasso was at pains after her departure to see to it that mutual friends cut her dead and that the dealers he controlled refused to handle her work.

Before becoming *persona non grata* in the upper reaches of the cultural Establishment in France, Mlle. Gilot met practically every writer and artist of consequence at the time. Her accounts of these meetings are a good book in themselves. Sartre, de Beauvoir, Reverdy, Malraux, Matisse, Braque, Gertrude Stein, Aragon, Eluard, Giacometti, Gide, and Cocteau (to drop just a few of the names she has dropped) move through her pages at their greater or lesser peril.

WHATEVER else he may be, Picasso remains the pre-eminent figure in the art of this century, and his ruminations on that art, as reported by Mlle. Gilot, constitute still another book-within-a-book that lends distinction to the whole enterprise. A scintillating exegete of his own work and trenchant commentator on the work of his contemporaries, Picasso has rarely needed more than a few remarks to clarify issues that whole volumes by lesser critics have only succeeded in muddling:

"When I paint, I always try to give an image people are not expecting and, beyond that, one they reject. . . . It's in this sense that I mean I always try to be subversive. That is, I give a man an image of himself whose elements are collected from among the usual way of seeing things in traditional painting and then reassembled in a fashion that is unexpected and disturbing enough to make it impossible for him to escape the questions it raises."

Elsewhere in the book, Picasso says: "I paint the way some people write their autobiography. The paintings, finished or not, are the pages of my journal, and as such they are valid. The future will choose the pages it prefers."

The same may be said of Mlle. Gilot's book.

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From Imp To Blimp

SAREL EIMERL

A LITTLE LEARNING, by Evelyn Waugh. *Little, Brown. $5.*

The paradox of Evelyn Waugh used to be a common topic of conversation among friends of the English novel. On the one hand, there was the early Waugh, the author of half a dozen magnificently gay, sprightly, and irreverent novels—satires, they were often called. On the other hand, there was the later Waugh whose novels were increasingly weighty and unfunny and who in person—if one was to believe the many stories—was a pompous, stuffy, ill-tempered, and obnoxious snob.

How had he emerged, this ponderous Tory whose Blimpish pomposity would have made so tempting a target for the early Waugh? Had he always been present, like some latent virus in the cell, ready to burst forth when the chemical inhibitions were removed? Or had some deep psychological change divorced the later Waugh from his early self as decisively as responsibility altered Prince Hal or the knowledge of God transformed St. Augustine? These are intriguing questions, and this, the first of three projected volumes of autobiography, offers suitably intriguing answers. Or clues rather, since, if the paradox does exist, Waugh indicates no awareness of it. This is not to say that the autobiography is disingenuous. It bears all the marks of honesty, and if the purpose of autobiography is to reveal the man, this first volume can hardly be faulted. It leads one to suspect that the later Waugh is merely the early Waugh grown older.

THE BOOK begins with a stupefying account of an assortment of his grandparents. Its purpose? According to Waugh, to show that inheritance is a complicated business. According to me, to show that he is a full-blooded member of the right class. Next, his childhood. Belonging by belief to the late Middle Ages, Waugh is skeptical of modern

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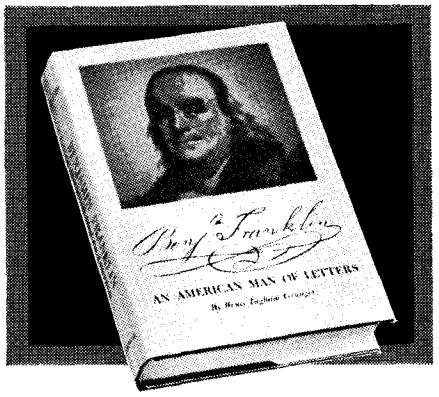

How Ben Franklin's versatile pen helped create an "American" literary style

Benjamin Franklin

An American Man of Letters

by BRUCE INGHAM GRANGER

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psychiatry and derisive about critics who seek to interpret an author's work by probing into the disasters and sorrows of his childhood. He claims that his childhood was almost entirely an "even glow of pure happiness." When first he proceeded to a public school, he did suffer some acute miseries. But once he reached Oxford, his life blossomed into one long rout of gaiety and delight. It is at this point that the book becomes fascinating to a researcher into the Waugh psyche. There is no reason to doubt his honesty when he rejoices over his old friends and their rags, celebrates their drunken debauches, and recalls his disdain for work.

It is a familiar English attitude. The most contemptible of schoolboys is the hard worker—the swot. The aim is to achieve distinction without effort. Waugh's model was Lord Birkenhead, said to have idled and debauched for three years and then, in a few weeks, crammed enough information to take a brilliant degree. To Waugh, Oxford was the magic garden he celebrated with nostalgia in *Brideshead Revisited*. It was mulled claret, Old Etonians, wild japes, laughter, down with the swots, more wild japes, and still more, many more Old Etonians. What is one to conclude from all this? Presumably that Waugh was a simple-minded romantic snob, possessed of a lively sense of fun, who shared the conventional English respect for the brilliant amateur. In his character and his attitudes, the early Waugh, as revealed in this volume, was at root a representative of the public-school type who used to go out to administer the colonies and now sells expensive automobiles.

At this point, it occurred to me—and it should have occurred to me twenty years ago—that the general view of the early Waugh as a satirist was never justified. When a man writes a funny book, it is almost certain to be hailed as satire. Thus with Waugh. But what did he satirize? Nothing of consequence. He did not expose the follies or the vices of mankind, and his principal characters—Margot Beste-Chetwynde or Captain Grimes, for instance—were drawn with much affection, while Basil Seal was positively a hero. Nor can it be claimed for Waugh that he wrote with any more perception into character than is displayed by any competent gossip columnist. In fact, his novels were the very stuff of gossip columns, albeit decorated with a sharp eye for idiosyncrasies, a raconteur's skill, and a genius for being funny. But this talent does not make Waugh sensible or admirable or a man of reliable judgment. It simply makes him funny.

DESPITE his claims to being a first-class dilettante, Waugh possessed a passion for excellence. As a boy, he labored hard to write good script; as a man, he must surely have labored with equal dedication to write good prose. It is almost inconceivable that the grace of his style came without effort. As a stylist he has always been a joy to read, and never more so than in this book.

His sense of good taste goes beyond prose style. Most writers of autobiography attempt, consciously or not, to portray themselves favorably. Waugh makes no such effort, and his book is the better for it. Probably he is rude to doormen, and that is a pity. But he appears in this book as a man with strong affections for the people he likes and with a deep interest in pleasantly unusual subjects, such as ecclesiastical history and the Pre-Raphaelites. He is also bored easily and fond of solitude. If he says his childhood was happy, one might as well believe him; he was there. But in his novels there has always lurked, outshone by the sparkle, signs of a somber melancholy. The last chapter of this book could hardly have pointed up the combination more neatly. Soon after a rollicking account of the man who served as model for the irrepressible Captain Grimes, Waugh tells how, afflicted by despair, he decided to end all, and swam out to sea, never to return: ". . . but, long before I reached the point of no return, the Shropshire Lad was disturbed by a smart on the shoulder. I had run into a jelly-fish. A few more strokes, a second more painful sting." Turning, the would-be suicide swam back to shore.

This is high Waugh—early, middle, or late. The old boy is back in the saddle, and the next volume, we may reasonably hope, will be, like Basil Seal, a corker.

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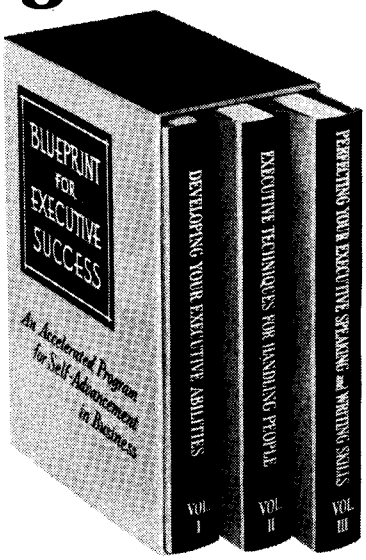
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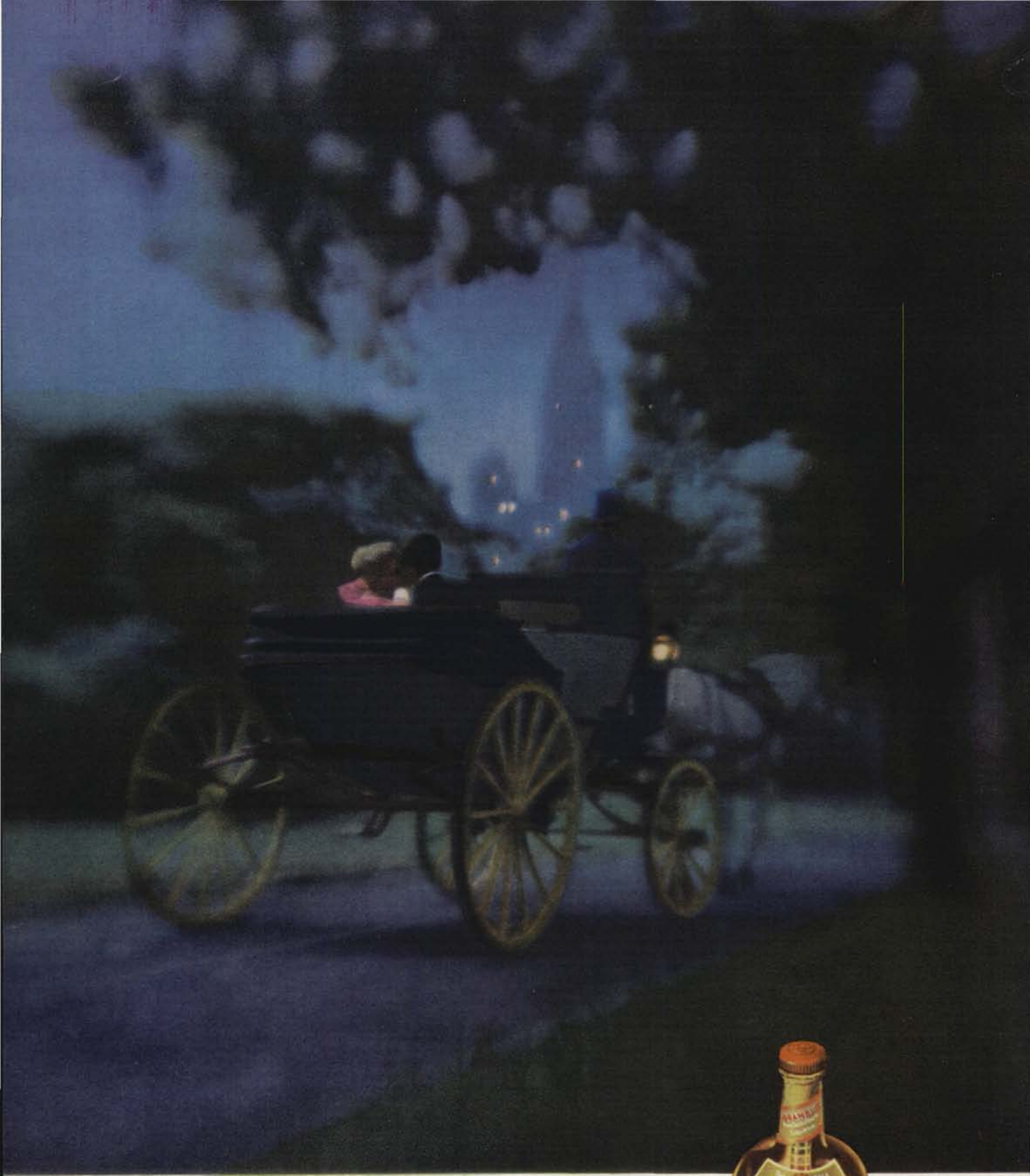

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